SHAṬṬĀRĪYAH SILSILAH

in Aceh, Java, and the Lanao area of Mindanao

Oman Fathurahman

Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa
Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

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JAVANESE STUDIES

Contributions to the Study of Javanese Literature, Culture and History

4

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TOKYO
2016

JAVANESE STUDIES is intended as a channel for the publication of work completed in the context of an appointment as Visiting Researcher or other staff member within the ILCAA. All publications are peer-reviewed.

Editorial Board: Toru Aoyama, Koji Miyazaki, Willem van der Molen, Asako Shiohara, Yumi Sugahara.

Title: Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah in Aceh, Java, and the Lanao area of Mindanao.
Author: Oman Fathurahman.
ISBN: 978-4-86337-225-2.
xii + 140 pp.
Javanese Studies, 4.
Published in March 2016.

Published by:
Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa (ILCAA)
Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Tokyo
3-11-1 Asahi-cho, Fuchu-shi, Tokyo 183-8534, JAPAN
website: http://www.aa.tufs.ac.jp
e-mail: publ@aa.tufs.ac.jp

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Printed by Sanrei Printing Co., Ltd.
The flower illuminating the name of the Series is the *cempaka*, often mentioned in literature for its fragrance.

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TRANSLITERATION

Arabic	Roman	Arabic	Roman
ا	(omit)	ض	ḍ
ب	b	ط	ṭ
ت	t	ظ	ẓ
ث	th	ع	‘
ج	j	غ	gh
ح	ḥ	ف	f
خ	kh	ق	q
د	d	ك	k
ذ	dh	ل	l
ر	r	م	m
ز	z	ن	n
س	s	و	w
ش	sh	هـ	h
ص	ṣ	ي	y

Vowels and diphtongs

◌َ	a	◌َا	ā	◌َى	á
◌ِ	i	◌ِي ◌ْ	ī	◌َو ◌ْ	aw
◌ُ	u	◌ُو ◌ْ	ū	◌َ ي ◌ْ	ay

NOTES AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book provides primary sources of the Shaṭṭārīyah spiritual chains and genealogy (*silsilah*) developed in Aceh, Java, and the Lanao area of Mindanao. It aims to clarify the development and networks of the Shaṭṭārīyah Sufi order in these regions between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. Since the available sources cover only certain areas, the book does not examine these regions in their entirety.

The majority of studies on the history of the Shaṭṭārīyah in Southeast Asia have highlighted the Acehnese scholar ʻAbd al-Raʼūf b. ʻAlī al-Jāwī al-Fanṣūrī (1615-1693) as the main *khalīfah* who expanded the order in this region while paying little attention to other silsilahs, as mentioned in certain Indonesian manuscripts. Therefore, this study examines the complexity of the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah in this region, which was spread not only through ʻAbd al-Raʼūf's line but also al-Kūrānī, Ḥasan al-ʻAjamī, and Ṣāliḥ Khaṭīb.

The primary sources referred to in this study include several Islamic manuscripts (written in Arabic, Malay, Javanese, and Sundanese) that originated from Aceh, Java, and the Lanao area of Mindanao, although some of these are currently preserved in collections elsewhere. The digitized manuscripts, which are the most important sources, were available due to previous collaborative efforts to preserve Islamic manuscripts by several national and international institutions.

In addition, this study demonstrates how the availability of digitized manuscripts, alongside the spectacular emergence of digital technology, provides a considerable advantage for researchers who study manuscripts. This is important to stress because the digitization of manuscripts is merely the first step toward their preservation. The subsequent, more important steps include studying, publishing, sharing, disseminating, and distributing their

knowledge and wisdom to a wider audience. In the context of Southeast Asia in particular, manuscript studies can be incorporated within local Islamic studies, since the emergence of certain manuscripts cannot be easily separated from the early development of Islam in the region.

Academic and financial supports have been essential for this study. Without them, I would not have had the wonderful opportunity to scrutinize hundreds of manuscripts and engage in uninterrupted writing. Particularly, I would like to thank the Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa (ILCAA) at the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (TUFS), especially its Director, who appointed me as a visiting professor from September 2012 to July 2013 and provided me with a convenient office with a beautiful view of Mt. Fuji.

I would also like to offer special thanks to Prof. Dr. Koji Miyazaki, who kindly hosted me and offered personal help as well as academic discretion, of which the latter was crucial for the scope of my study. He also helped me to get professional assistances of English language review from Enago (www.enago.jp).

Furthermore, I am indebted to Dr. Yumi Sugahara, who first brought this program at ILCAA to my attention and helped me prepare the required documents. In addition, Dr. Kazuhiro Arai and Prof. Dr. Toru Aoyama helped me settle into my office and dormitory and made me feel at home.

While investigating the primary sources for this study, I was fortunate to have access to hundreds of digitized Islamic manuscripts from Aceh, Java, and Marawi City in Mindanao. This was facilitated by the institutional and private owners of several manuscript collections, who understood the importance of restoring and digitizing such national treasures. Among them are the Aceh National Museum and the Ali Hasjmy Museum in Banda Aceh, and Zawiyah Tanoh Abee in Aceh Besar. I would also like to thank the late Teungku Muhammad Dahlan and his family, Ir. Surya Ali Hasjmy, and M. Nurdin, M.A., who provided access to their valuable manuscript collections and concurred that furthering knowledge regarding these manuscripts will enlighten our society.

The first project for the preservation of Aceh manuscripts, which I joined, was launched in 2005; it was followed in 2006 by the Centre for Documentation & Area-Transcultural Studies (C-DATS) at TUFS. The C-DATS project resulted in two manuscript catalogues: Yayasan Pendidikan dan Museum

Ali Hasjmy (2007) and Zawiyah Tanoh Abee (2010), with both providing crucial information for this study. The C-DATS project of digitizing Indonesian manuscripts was previously undertaken in Palembang (2003), in collaboration with local researchers from the Raden Fatah State Institute for Islamic Studies (IAIN, now State Islamic University/UIN) and in Minangkabau (2005), in collaboration with Kelompok Kajian Poetika, Faculty of Humanities, Andalas University in Padang and the Indonesian Association for Nusantara Manuscripts or Masyarakat Pernaskahan Nusantara (Manassa). During the following years (2007-2009), Prof. Dr. Eckehard Schulz and Dr. Thoralf Hanstein, from Leipzig University in Germany, implemented more ambitious projects to preserve Aceh manuscripts by digitizing and restoring the majority of manuscripts in the Aceh Museum and from several other private collections.

In Aceh, I was generously helped by colleagues at Pusat Kajian dan Pendidikan Masyarakat (PKPM) and the Al-Raniry State Institute for Islamic Studies (IAIN, now State Islamic University/UIN) in Banda Aceh, without whom both the C-DATS and Leipzig projects would not have been possible. I am also indebted to Prof. Dr. Rusjdy Ali Muhammad; Dr. Mujiburrahman; Hasnul Arifin Melayu, M.A.; Dr. Muslim; Dr. Salman Abdul Muthallib; M. Zaki, M.A.; and several other PKPM colleagues, all of whom I cannot list here.

In 2012, the Leipzig Project was implemented for collections in Kraton Kacirebonan and some private collections in Cirebon, West Java, in collaboration with colleagues from the Fahmina Institute for Islamic Studies and coordinated by Mahrus el-Mawa, M.A., Opan Safari, M.Hum., and Elang Hilman. Owing to this project, which has made most of their digitized manuscripts available online, I was provided with significant primary sources. In addition, (the late) Andi Baharudin and Alfan Firmanto were kind enough to make available one manuscript from Elang Panji's collection in Cirebon. Furthermore, I am indebted to both Dr. Annabel Teh Gallop, the Head Curator of the Southeast Asia section at the British Library, who patiently provided images of several Javanese manuscripts preserved in the collection, and Munawar Holil, M. Hum., who kindly helped me photograph manuscripts in the Leiden University Library during his own study there.

I would also like to thank Prof. Midori Kawashima from Sophia University

who invited me to participate in her project for the preservation of Islamic manuscripts from two collections in Marawi City in Mindanao: the Al-Imam As-Sadiq (A.S.) Library of Husayniyyah Karbala in Biaba-Damag and the Shiek [sic.] Ahmad Basher Memorial Research Library in Matampay. Three manuscripts from the former collection provided significant and relatively unknown information regarding the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah in the region and its network with other areas in the Malay world.

Last but not least, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my beloved family: my wife Husnayah Alhudayah, and my three children, Fadli Husnurrahman, Alif Alfaini Rahman, and Jiddane Ashkura Rahman. Without their love and support, I would have never come to Japan to conduct and finish this study.

Chapter One

BACKGROUND OF STUDY

On Shaṭṭārīyah Silsilah

The *tarekat* (Ar. *ṭarīqah*), or mystical order, is an organizational aspect of Islamic mysticism (*tasawwuf*). Since the publication of *The Sufi Orders in Islam* by J. Spencer Trimingham (1971), the study of the *tarekat* and *tasawwuf* in the Muslim world, including its chain of genealogy (*silsilah*), networks, methods of organization and rituals, and social and historical contexts, has received considerable attention from scholars, including those whose focus of study is Indonesia.[1] However, more specific philological studies of silsilah texts are still limited.

Silsilah represents the close spiritual relationship between a *murshid* (Sufi master) and *murid* (follower), an initiated member of an order who holds the spiritual authority to practice all the Sufi teachings and rituals. This relationship is one of the most important foundations of any traditional Sufi order. Furthermore, its validity is guaranteed by the order, and it is linked to the Prophet. Thus, in this regard, the accuracy of linkage is essential, and it must be historically demonstrable (Azra 2004:149; Rizvi 1983:98).

The significance of silsilah in Sufism corresponds to that of *isnād* in the prophetic tradition (*ḥadīth*); both are regarded as fundamentals for the development of Islamic knowledge (Voll 1980). Indeed, Sufism and *ḥadīth* are two fields of Islamic learning that correlate and reinforce one another. Some Sufis, such as Aḥmad al-Qushāshī (d. 1660) and Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (1615-1690), were simultaneously involved in *ḥadīth* scholarship as well as connected with Sufi chains of authority (silsilah) and chains of *ḥadīth* authorization (*isnād*) (Voll 2002).

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[1] One of the most engaging publications regarding such study in Indonesia is Bruinessen 1992b. Another fascinating study on Sufis and *tarekat* networks is also present in Azra 2004.

A *murshid-murid* relationship in a Sufi order commences only after a *murīd* makes a vow of obedience (*bay'ah*) to his/her *murshid*.[1] The *murshid* then gives his disciple permission (*ijāzah*) to practice the rituals of the order or, in some cases, authorize him/her as a *khalīfah* to initiate others. Through this systematic process, a silsilah emerges.

Studies confirm that silsilah in particular and Sufism in general played an extremely significant role in developing Islamic networks and furthering Islamization in different regions, and Southeast Asia is not an exception. Johns concluded the following, which is still relevant today: "…the role of Sufism in our region is not all that different from that of Sufism in other parts of the Muslim world…." (Johns 1995:183).

The present study is primarily concerned with a philological examination of certain Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah groups in Aceh, Java, and the Lanao area of Mindanao in southern Philippines. The significance of this study relies upon primary sources, which include dozens of Islamic manuscripts (written in Arabic, Malay, Javanese, and Sundanese) dating between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries. While several Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah texts from the selected manuscripts are philologically treated, the others are also analyzed to more comprehensively understand the nature of silsilah as an integral part of Sufism as a whole.

According to Azra (2004), there is a correlation between the main networks of the Shaṭṭārīyah order and those of the Middle Eastern and Malay-Indonesian *ulama*. His study, however, focused more on the global network of the Shaṭṭārīyah and did not comprehensively include the local network of "commoners" in the Java region, especially the students of Shaykh 'Abd al-Muḥyī of Karang from the nineteenth century onward in West, Central, and East Java. Moreover, Azra provided neither a full text of each Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah nor details regarding each manuscript, although this was not surprising for his historical study.

Therefore, the present manuscript-based study focuses more on the local network of the Shaṭṭārīyah order in Aceh, Java, and the Lanao area of Mindanao in southern Philippines. In addition, it argues that the "grassroots" Shaṭṭārīyah followers played an important role in the regional development of the Shaṭṭārīyah order in particular and Islam in general. Due to their

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[1] A detailed explanation of the initiation process in some Sufi orders has been discussed in Trimingham 1998:182-191.

influential roles, the ideas of Islamic mystical teachings were delivered to a wider audience. Such a focus might elucidate the "non-mainstream" Shaṭṭārīyah members who are relatively unknown. However, since biographical information of these members is difficult to find, the discussion of their biographies may be limited and subject to further study.

All the manuscripts examined here have been made available primarily through preservation projects, most of which I was involved in, and which were conducted in collaboration with various institutions as outlined below.

Projects for the preservation of Indonesian manuscripts

Since the early 2000s, in accordance with the global development of digital technology, manuscripts in Indonesia have been preserved using a new format of digitization rather than microfilming. These digital high-quality images facilitate their long-term preservation. However, this does not imply that digitization is the only method applied to restore and save such vulnerable manuscripts; keeping them physically "alive" is still prioritized. Digital technology has uncovered a new perspective in the field of manuscript preservation and storage. In addition, the technology has provided researchers with easy access to these "new-born digitized manuscripts," especially through online portals. Such access to these ancient and rare manuscripts is expected to draw more academic interest from scholars and students.

The Jakarta National Library began digitizing its manuscript collection in 2003, while the digitization of the Minangkabau and Palembang manuscripts in the same year was the first non-governmental project that digitized and catalogued Indonesian manuscripts.[1]

Following the earthquake and tsunami that struck Aceh in December 2004, C-DATS, in collaboration with Manassa and the State Institute for Islamic Studies (IAIN), also launched the Aceh Project for the preservation of manuscripts from two collections: Ali Hasjmy (2005) and Zawiyah Tanoh

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[1] These Minangkabau and Palembang Projects were conducted by Masyarakat Pernaskahan Nusantara (the Indonesian Association for Nusantara Manuscripts) or Manassa and Yayasan Naskah Nusantara (the Indonesian Foundation for Nusantara Manuscripts) or Yanassa, in collaboration with the Centre for Documentation & Area-Transcultural Studies (C-DATS) at the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (TUFS). The manuscript catalogues from these two projects have been published as Ikram 2004; Yusuf 2006.

Abee (2006). Hundreds of manuscripts from these collections, although not in their entire pages, were digitized, and their catalogues have been published (see Fathurahman and Holil 2007; Fathurahman et al. 2010).

Another ambitious project for the preservation of Aceh manuscripts was conducted by Leipzig University in Germany, in collaboration with several institutions such as Pusat Kajian Pendidikan dan Masyarakat (PKPM), the Aceh Museum, and the Ali Hasjmy Museum in Aceh, and Manassa in Jakarta. More than 1,000 manuscripts from various collections (both institutional and private) were digitized and physically restored.

From 2009 to 2012, the Leipzig preservation project was conducted for the Kraton Yogyakarta and Kraton Surakarta Collections as well as other collections in Central and East Java, in collaboration with the Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University (UIN) of Yogyakarta. In early 2012, a similar project was undertaken for collections in Cirebon, West Java, in collaboration with Manassa and the Institut Studi Islam Fahmina (ISIF).

In addition, several other projects to digitize Indonesian manuscripts were initiated by both Indonesian and foreign scholars with grants from the Endangered Archives Programme (EAP) of the British Library. These included the Manuscripts of Indonesian Pesantren (MIPES) Project in Surabaya (Amiq Ahyad 2006), the Kerinci Project (Ulrich Kozok 2007), the Riau Project (Jan van der Putten 2007), the Minangkabau Project (Zuriati 2007; Irina Katkova, 2008), the Buton Project (Suryadi 2008), the Pidie and Aceh Besar Project (Fakhriati 2009), and the Cirebon Project (Andi Bahrudin 2009).[1]

Finally, in 2010, a project for the preservation and digitization of Islamic manuscripts from the Pesantren Sabilil Muttaqin (PSM) Takeran of East Java was successfully conducted by Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM), Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University of Jakarta, in collaboration with Northern Illinois University and University of Hawai'i at Manoa.

In terms of manuscript preservation, it is important to note that digitization is merely the first step toward preserving the content of manuscripts as well as making their rare data easily accessible to scholars. Therefore, the next step should be studying the digitized manuscripts and sharing the knowledge with a wider audience.

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[1] All information regarding these projects, along with similar projects from both outside and inside Indonesia (granted by the EAP, the British Library), is provided in ("Endangered Archives Programme" n.d.)

Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah manuscripts: methodology

This study primarily examines a group of digitized manuscripts comprising silsilah (genealogy) of the Shaṭṭārīyah Sufi order that are selected from several collections in Indonesia and the Lanao area of Mindanao. These collections include the Aceh Museum, Yayasan Ali Hasjmy, and Zawiyah Tanoh Abee in Aceh; the Al-Imam As-Sadiq (A.S.) Library of Husayniyyah Karbala and Shiek Ahmad Basher Memorial Research Library in Matampay in Marawi City; PSM Takeran in East Java; Kraton Kacirebonan; and several private collections belonging to Bambang Irianto, Opan Safari, and Elang Panji in Cirebon, West Java.

In addition, this study focuses on several manuscripts from two collections in Europe: the British Library and Leiden University Library.[1] Since the focus of this study is on silsilah texts, I select manuscripts which contains only the complete version of the texts and explicitly show the spiritual genealogy of the most recent *murīd*, who is linked to the Prophet through a series of teachers. The details regarding the selected manuscripts will be discussed later. On the basis of the available manuscripts, this study deals only with the Shaṭṭārīyah order developed in certain regions of Aceh, Java, and the Lanao area of Mindanao in southern Philippines.[2]

Manuscripts that include silsilah are selected after scrutinizing 648 manuscripts from the Aceh Museum Collection, 277 from the Cirebon Collection, 40 from the Al-Imam As-Sadiq (A.S.) Library, and 11 from the Shiek Ahmad Basher Memorial Research Library. With regard to selecting manuscripts from the British Library, the Leiden University Library, Zawiyah Tanoh Abee, and Yayasan Ali Hasjmy, this study utilizes the manuscript catalogues by (Fathurahman and Holil 2007; Fathurahman et al. 2010; Iskandar 1999; Ricklefs, Voorhoeve, and Gallop 2014; Ricklefs and Voorhoeve 1977; Wieringa 1998).

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[1] The silsilah manuscripts examined here were available thanks to Annabel Teh Gallop, the Head Curator for Indonesia and Malay in the South and Southeast Asia Section at the British Library, and Munawar Holil, who conducted research at Leiden University from October to December 2012. Both kindly made available the digital images of the silsilah manuscripts in these two collections.

[2] As of Shaṭṭārīyah order in other areas, such as Minangkabau, West Sumatra, see Fathurahman 2008.

Accordingly, 33 manuscripts are selected as primary sources. Among them, 10 are from the Aceh Museum Collection in Banda Aceh, while the others come from several public and private collections including the British Library in London (6), the Leiden University Library (4), Yayasan Ali Hasjmy in Banda Aceh (2), the Al-Imam As-Sadiq (A.S.) Library of Husayniyyah Karbala in Biaba-Damag, Marawi City, Mindanao (3), the Shiek Ahmad Basher Memorial Research Library in Matampay in Marawi City, Mindanao (1), Zawiyah Tanoh Abee in Aceh Besar (1), PSM Takeran in East Java (1), and one each from H. M. Harun, BA, Bambang Irianto, Opan Safari, Kraton Kacirebonan, and Elang Panji in Kuningan and Cirebon, West Java.

The majority of these manuscripts are written in Malay (17), followed by Javanese (8), Arabic (7), and Sundanese (1). Each manuscript primarily consists of one Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah, except for MS Jav. 69, which consists of four lines of silsilah from Kanjeng Ratu Kadospaten (Kadipaten) in Yogyakarta that date back to ʻAbd al-Muḥyī through several different *murshid*s. In this case, the four lines are identified as silsilah "a," "b," "c," and "d." Thus, the total number of primary sources is 36 silsilahs found in 33 manuscripts. The extremely poor physical condition of the silsilah text of MS Cod. Or. 7369 in the Leiden University Library Collection renders them impossible to edit. Nevertheless, this manuscript is included in this study owing to its description regarding Shaṭṭārīyah followers in Batavia by Teuku Iskandar (Iskandar 1999:441-442).

Each selected manuscript is codicologically examined, and all the texts are included (not only the silsilah texts) to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the nature of such manuscripts and to place significance on silsilah in the wider context of Islamic Sufi teachings. Moreover, each silsilah text is critically edited by providing an *apparatus criticus* containing all the pertinent notes concerning the texts. Unfortunately, since all the examined manuscripts are digital images, more codicological and physical details might be less emphasized.

Finally, the most recent name mentioned in each silsilah will be regarded as "the owner of the silsilah," and an attempt will be made to determine the identity of this "owner," his/her close teachers, and his/her connection with the authorship of the related manuscript. However, in certain cases, the available sources make it difficult to provide more than his/her name.

Regardless, all the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah texts are edited (along with several secondary sources) to reconstruct the network of the Shaṭṭārīyah Sufi order in Aceh, Java, and the Lanao area of Mindanao.

Picture 1. Digitization of manuscripts in Calau, Sijunjung, West Sumatra (photo: Yumi Sugahara).

Chapter Two

MANUSCRIPTS OF SHAṬṬĀRĪYAH SILSILAH
Java, Aceh, and the Lanao Area of Mindanao

This chapter provides codicological descriptions of the 33 manuscripts mentioned in the previous chapter, which comprise Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah in Arabic, Malay, Javanese, and Sundanese from Aceh, Java, and the Lanao area of Mindanao. An attempt has been made to determine the author and dates of each manuscript (although this may be impossible due to the lack of evidence) as well as identify the title of the texts, or if the titles are unknown, describe the content of the texts.

Furthermore, a critical edition of the silsilah text in each manuscript is provided with an *apparatus criticus* containing pertinent notes regarding the text. In addition, the names listed in the silsilah are presented in their original form unless they change the intended meaning. An English translation of certain words in the silsilah texts, and also quotations, is provided, and the red rubrication in the texts is marked in bold.

As described in the previous chapter, this study reveals the identity of each silsilah's "owner," i.e., those who are listed as the most recent students who received the *ijāzah* through a series of teachers linked to our central figure, Aḥmad al-Qushāshī, and then to the Prophet.

These manuscripts include the name of the owner of each silsilah in the text. In the Arabic and Malay manuscripts, this name is placed in the beginning of the silsilah and traced back to the Prophet. Conversely, in the Javanese and Sundanese manuscripts, the first name mentioned is that of the Prophet, who continuously authorizes a series of followers until the latest owner of the silsilah.

The silsilah texts of the Shaṭṭārīyah in Batavia exhibit a unique phenomenon. Although the silsilahs were written in Malay, their order follows the

Javanese and Sundanese tradition, in which the names of the owner are placed at the end of the text.

Accordingly, the following phrases (divided by language) are from the beginning of the silsilah texts:

(a) Arabic (B7-MS1): *…hādhihi al-salsilah sanad al-sādah al-Shaṭṭārīyah wa-ittiṣālunā bihi min shaykh Haji ʻAbd al-Qahhār, wa-akhadhahā al-faqīr al-ḥaqīr Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn Amīr al-Qāḍī ilá balad al-Bansayānī…*;
(b) Malay (MS 16767): *…Telah mengambil talqin tarekat Shaṭṭārīyah oleh Ḥamīdah binti anak Sulaymān Lam f-l-s daripada Shaykh ʻAbd al-Wahhāb anak Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ anak ʻAbd al-Raḥīm…*;
(c) Javanese (MS Jav.83): *…bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm, utawi ikilah kitab ing dalem anyatakaken turu<n>-turuné dadalan Shaṭṭārīyah kang tedhak saking kanjeng Rasulullah ṣallallāhu ʻalayh wa-sallama…*;
(d) Sundanese (MS Tuturunan): *…ieu tulisan mertélakeun tuturunan tarékat Syatariyah anu diturunkeun ti Gusti Allah taʻala ka Malaikat Jabraʻil tuluy muruk ka gusti Rasulullah ṣallallāh ʻalayhi wa-sallam…*;
(e) Malay-Javanese of Batavia (MS Jav. 50): *…bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm, bermula inilah kitab pada manyatakaken turun jalan Shaṭṭārīyah yang tedak dari Rasulullāh ṣallallāh ʻalayhi wa-sallama….* The word *tedak* is certainly derived from Javanese.

The following phrases (divided by language) are from the end of the texts:

(a) Arabic (B7-MS1): *…wa-huwa talaqqana min al-nabī ṣallallāhu ʻalayh wa-sallama …*;
(b) Malay (MS 07_00812): *…ia mengambil daripada Nabi Muḥammad ṣallallāhu ʻalayh wa-sallama…*;
(c) Javanese (MS Jav.69): *…lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Kanjeng Ratu Kadospaten kang palenggah ing Negara Yogyakarta Adiningrat nagarane, lan ing Sokawati kamajan Pawong sanake …*;
(d) Sundanese (MS Tuturunan): *…tuluy muruk ka Kyai Sohibul putera Kyai Ikraman urang Kampung Wirarangan Kabupaten Kuningan …*;
(e) Malay-Javanese of Batavia (MS Jav.50): *…dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Khatib Saʻid Mataraman kampung Batawiyah negerinya…* The end of this silsilah is followed by a Javanese-influenced Malay phrase: *…yang mudah-mudahan angasihi ingiya Allah taala dan dunya sampai akhirat…*

Regardless of the collection's origins, the descriptions of the manuscripts can be divided into three main categories: (1) Shaṭṭārīyah in Aceh, (2) Shaṭṭārī-

yah in Java, and (3) Shaṭṭārīyah in the Lanao area of Mindanao. This means that the manuscripts from the British Library Collection, for instance, can be grouped into either the first or second category, depending on the name of the silsilah's owner.

Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah in Aceh

This section includes 14 manuscripts (in Arabic and Malay) that contain 12 Shaṭṭārīyah silsilahs developed in Aceh through 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's and Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī's lines. The most recent names mentioned in these silsilahs, according to their levels of studentship, include the following: 'Abd al-Ra'ūf b. 'Alī al-Jāwī al-Fanṣūrī, Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn, 'Abd al-Wahhāb of Tanoh Abee, Ḥamīdah binti Sulaymān of Tanoh Abee, Muḥammad Abū 'Abd al-Muṭallib of Tanoh Abee, Ḥasan, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, Muḥammad Khaṭīb Langgien, Leubee Aloeh Kayee Kunyet, Muḥammad 'Alī Rabawī, Sayf Qamar, and Yūsuf anak Lebai Shah Padang Marbu.

1. Silsilah of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf b. 'Alī al-Jāwī al-Fanṣūrī

'Abd al-Ra'ūf's silsilah is found in both his works, the Arabic *Tanbīh al-māshī al-mansūb ilá ṭarīq al-Qushāshī* (Directions for the adepts of the brotherhood of al-Qushāshī) and the Malay *'Umdat al-muḥtājīn ilá sulūk maslak al-mufradīn* or *Perpegangan segala mereka yang berkehendak kepada menjalani jalan orang yang meninggalkan dirinya* (Support for the needy to follow the path of ascetics).

a. 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's silsilah in *Tanbīh al-māshī*

Tanbīh al-māshī is 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's only known work in Arabic. It includes his reinterpretation of the unity of being (*waḥdat al-wujūd*), formulation of *dhikr* (invocation), and silsilahs in the Shaṭṭārīyah and Qadarīyah Sufi orders.[1]

Several copies of the manuscript are preserved in different collections around the world: A 655 and A 101 at the Jakarta National Library, Cod. Or. 7030 and Cod. Or. 7031 at the Leiden University Library, MS 07_01114 and MS 4046 at the Aceh Museum, MS Tanoh Abee,[2] and three others in the private collections of Abdul Manaf Amin al-Khatib (d. 2006), Syamsul Bahri Khatib Padang, and Shaykh Ibrahim Ampalu Tinggi in Minangkabau, West

[1] The Arabic text with its Indonesian translation of this work, see Fathurahman 1999:90-163.

[2] A more detail description with an analysis of the copy in Tanoh Abee Collection, see Fakhriati 2008.

Sumatra (Fathurahman 2008:64). Furthermore, additional copies probably exist in several other private collections, as this work was popular and regarded as one of the main sources concerning Islamic mystical teachings that were used by Shaṭṭārīyah Sufi followers in Southeast Asia.

In this study, MS 07_01114 from the Aceh Museum Collection includes *Tanbīh al-māshī* on ff. 47v-69r. This manuscript is available thanks to the online version of the project for the preservation of Aceh manuscripts, undertaken by the Aceh Museum in collaboration with Leipzig University in Germany, Pusat Kajian dan Pendidikan Masyarakat (PKPM) Aceh, and Masyarakat Pernaskahan Nusantara (Manassa).[1]

Description of MS 07_01114

This Arabic manuscript is 23 × 16 cm and includes 140 folios (ff. 1v-140r), with the final six being blank; leather binding; 17 lines per page; European paper; a watermark of three crescents; and black ink with red rubrics. On f. 1r, there is a note of ownership that reads as follows:

> *Intaqala al-milk min shaykhinā wa-mawlānā Muḥammad Ḥasan Putee* (?)[2] *ilá faqīr al-ḥaqīr Nūruddīn Pulo bi-sabab al-irth min Nabīdah bintihi li-annahā qad tazawwajahā al-faqīr thumma māta Mawlanā*[3] *thumma mātathu bintuhu wa-warithtu hādhā al-kitāb, hiya min abīhā wa-waritha al-faqīr minhā, intahá al-kalām.*
>
> The ownership of this manuscript has been passed down from our teacher and master, Muḥammad Ḥasan Putee, to this humble *faqīr* Nūruddīn Pulo through his daughter Nabīdah, since this *faqīr* married her and inherited this manuscript after the master and his daughter were dead; she inherited it from her father, and then this *faqīr* inherited it from her; the words end here.

Muḥammad Ḥasan Putee appears to have been the owner and copyist of this manuscript as his name was written as Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Pulo Blang (ff. 46v and 84r) or Muḥammad Ḥasan Pulo Blang (f. 69r). An indication as to the date of this manuscript is present on f. 84r, the title page of *al-*

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[1] MS 07_01114 in ("Manuskrip-manuskrip peninggalan Aceh" n.d.) Recently, the access to this site is no longer available, due to a technical process of moving the server from Leipzig University in Germany to the Indonesian party.

[2] The text: *f-t-y*.

[3] The text: *al-Mawlanā*.

Durr al-manẓūm): *wa-katabtu fī sanat* (I wrote it year) *1256*, approximately 1840 AD.

This manuscript comprises the following texts:

(a) an anonymous *qaṣīdah* (poem) attributed to ʻAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (ff. 5v-5r);
(b) *Sharḥ al-mawāhib al-mustarsalah ʻalá al-Tuḥfah al-mursalah* (ff. 8v-46v): a commentary of al-Burhānfūrī's *al-Tuḥfah al-mursalah ilá al-nabī*, presumably written by Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr al-Shāmī, a Syam who lived in Aceh;
(c) *Tanbīh al-māshī* (ff. 47v-69r): ʻAbd al-Raʼūf's Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah is found on ff. 68v-68r;
(d) *Sharḥ al-baytayn* (A Commentary of Two *Bait*s) (ff. 71r-77r): Quṭb al-Dīn ʻAbd al-Karīm b. Ibrāhīm b. Khalīfah al-Kaylānī's commentary on two *bait*s (metrical unit) of Ibn ʻArabi's mystical poem *kunnā ḥurūfan ʻāliyātin lam nuqal*…etc., probably copied by the scribe of Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Pulo Blang in Muḥarram and Ribāṭ al-Qushāshī in Medina;
(e) *Mirʼat al-ʻārifīn* (A mirror of the gnostics) (ff. 79f-83r): a mystical explanation of Sūrat al-Fātiḥah by Abī ʻAbdillāh Ḥasan b. ʻAlī;
(f) *al-Durr al-manẓūm* (The poetical pearl) (ff. 84r-134v): an Islamic jurisprudence work written by ʻAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʻrāwī (the end of this text is missing).

The following is the Arabic text of the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of ʻAbd al-Raʼūf:

> ***Khātimah**, fī dhikr sanad sādat al-Shaṭṭārīyah wa-ittiṣālinā bihi*[1]
> *wa-huwa talaqqana al-faqīr al-ḥaqīr ʻAbd al-Raʼūf*[2]
> *ʻan shaykhihi al-ʻārif billāh al-kāmil al-mukammil Ṣafī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Madanī al-Anṣārī al-shahīr bi-al-Qushāshī*
> *wa-huwa talaqqana ʻan sayyidinā Abī al-Mawāhib ʻAbdillāh Aḥmad b. ʻAlī al-Qurashīyī al-ʻAbbāsī al-Thanāwī*
> *wa huwa talaqqana ʻan sulṭān al-ʻārif billāh sayyidinā al-sayyid Ṣibghatullāh*
> *wa huwa talaqqana* [*ʻan*][3] *qudwat al-ʻulamāʼ sayyidinā Wajīh al-Dīn al-ʻAlawīyi*
> *wa huwa talaqqana ʻan al-Gawth al-jāmiʻlil-jawāmiʻsayyidinā al-sayyid Muḥammad al-Gawth*
> *wa huwa talaqqana ʻan sayyidinā qudwat al-muqarrabīn al-shaykh Ḥāji Ḥuḍūri ṭāba tharāhu*
> *wa huwa akhadha ʻan sayyidinā al-shaykh Hidāyatillāh al-Sarmasti*

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[1] Eng.: "**Closing**, on the chain of authorities of the Shaṭṭārīyah order and our contact with it."

[2] Eng.: "the humble Abd al-Raʼuf received direction from."

[3] This word is added and confirmed by other copies of *Tanbīh al-māshī* manuscripts (A 655, A 101, Cod. Or. 7030, and Cod. Or. 7031).

wa huwa talaqqana ʻan sayyidinā al-Imām Qāḍīna al-Shaṭṭārī
wa huwa talaqqana min al-shaykh ʻAbdillāh al-Shaṭṭārī
wa huwa talaqqana min sayyid Muḥammad ʻĀrif
wa huwa talaqqana min sayyid Muḥammad ʻĀshiq
wa huwa talaqqana min al-shaykh Khudāqilī al-Māwarāʻi al-Nahri
wa huwa talaqqana min al-Quṭub Abī al-Ḥasan al-Khirqānī
wa huwa talaqqana min al-shaykh al-Muẓẓaffar Mawlānā Turki al-Ṭūsi
wa huwa talaqqana min al-shaykh al-aʻrābī Abī Yazīd al-ʻIshqī
wa huwa talaqqana min al-shaykh Muḥammad al-Maghribī
wa huwa talaqqana min rūḥānīyat Sulṭān al-ʻĀrifīn Abī Yazīd al-Busṭāmī
wa huwa talaqqana min rūḥānīyati al-Imām Jaʻfar al-Ṣādiq
wa huwa talaqqana min al-Imām Muḥammad al-Bāqir
wa huwa talaqqana min al-Imām Zayn al-Ābidīn
wa huwa talaqqana min al-Imām al-Ḥusayni al-shahīd[1]
wa huwa talaqqana min al-Imām al-murtaḍā ʻAlī b. Ṭālib raḍiyaallāhu ʻanhu
wa huwa talaqqana min al-nabī ṣallāllāhu ʻalayhi wa-sallama
hādhā sanad al-sādah al-Shaṭṭārīyah wa-ittiṣālunā bihi[2]

b. ʻAbd al-Raʼūf's silsilah in *ʻUmdat al-muḥtājīn*

ʻUmdat al-muḥtājīn is one of ʻAbd al-Raʼūf's Malay Sufi treatises, which contains seven sections (*fāʻidah*): (a) the necessary (*wājib*), the impossible (*mustaḥīl*), and the possible (*jāʻiz*) attributes of Allah and His messengers; (b) the ethics and practical ways of *dhikr* (invocation); (c) a compilation of the prophetic tradition on the eminence of *lā ilāha illallāh*; (d) the advantages of those who intensely perform this *dhikr*; (e) an explanation of how to recite (*talqīn*) this *dhikr* for the followers, and how to perform a pledge (*bayʻah*); (f) an encouragement for the followers to perform the "must not" prayers; and (g) the characteristics of those who practice this path of Sufism, and their characteristics according to the prophetic tradition.

The end of this text is an epilog (*khātimah*), which consists of the author's silsilahs of the Shaṭṭārīyah and Qādirīyah Sufi orders as well as includes details regarding his years of study at various centers of Islamic learning in the Arabian Peninsula. This *khātimah* is important as it is the first and the only such text that clearly provides a spiritual genealogical tree of ʻAbd al-

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[1] *Shahīd* means "the martyr." Ḥusayn b. ʻAlī b. Abī Ṭālib is regarded by Shiʻī Muslims as a "martyr" because of his death in the Battle of Karbala. The Malay word *syahid* is used in the Malay version of the silsilah.

[2] Eng.: "here is the chain of authority of Shaṭṭārīyah and our connection to it."

Ra'ūf, the two mystical orders he was affiliated with, and a list of approximately fifteen teachers with whom he studied. In addition, it includes other scholars and students with whom he had varying degrees of contact in Mecca, Jeddah, Bayt al-Faqīh, Zabid, and Medina.[1]

The manuscripts of *'Umdat al-muḥtājīn* can be found in several collections, including the Leiden University Library,[2] the Jakarta National Library (Behrend 1998:282 and 287), the National Library of Malaysia, Yayasan Ali Hasjmy (Fathurahman and Holil 2007:150), and Aceh Museum Collection.[3] Considering the popularity of this work in the past, there should be numerous copies in private collections.

For this study, three copies of *'Umdat al-muḥtājīn* from the Aceh Museum Collection are used: MSS 07_00506, 07_00963, and 07_00966.

Description of MS 07_00963

This manuscript, written in Malay and Arabic, is 22 × 16 cm and includes 71 folios (ff. 1r-71v), with the first and last folios missing; restoration by lamination; no binding; 17 lines per page; European paper; a watermark of three crescents; black ink with red rubrics; and ink corrosion on several pages. The final folio (f. 71v) contains a colophon that reads as follows: *tammat al-kitab 'Umdat al-muḥtāj pada bulan Ramadan pada empat belas hari pada hari Isnain, tamma* (this kitab of *'Umdat al-muḥtāj* was completed on Monday, 4 Ramadan, completed).

The Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah is found on ff. 64v, 66r, and 67v, while ff. 64r-66v are misplaced pages from the same work. Compared with other copies, the text of *'Umdat al-muḥtājīn* in this manuscript is the most complete. The first folio (f. 1r), which includes an introduction containing the title of this work, reads as follows: *…dan kunamai akan dia dengan 'Umdat al-muḥtājīn ilá sulūk maslak al-mufradīn, artinya perpegangan segala mereka yang berkehendak kepada menjalani jalan orang yang meninggalkan dirinya…* (the title of this work is *'Umdat al-muḥtājīn ilá sulūk maslak al-mufradīn*, which means Support for the

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[1] A full text with English translation of this *khātimah* is published in Riddell 1990:223-238; see also Riddell 2001:126-127.

[2] See "*'Umdat al-muḥtāǧīn* (*ilā sulūk maslak al-mufridīn*)," in the Index of Titles by Iskandar 1999, Volume One, p. 1032; see also Riddell 1990.

[3] Search for MSS 07_00506, 07_00963 and 07_00966 in ("Manuskrip-manuskrip peninggalan Aceh" [n.d.])

needy to follow the path of ascetics). However, several pages (ff. 51r-55v), including those that contain 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah, have been corrupted due to disorder, ink corrosion, and insects.

Description of MS 07_00506

This manuscript, written in Malay and Arabic, is 20 × 15 cm and includes 60 folios (ff. 1r-60v), with the final six numbered Ir-VIv; no binding; 17 lines per page; European paper; and black ink with red rubrics. In addition, it has been restored by lamination.

This manuscript consists of the following texts:

(a) *Shifā' al-qulūb* (The Cure of Hearts) (ff. 2v-4v): a short Malay Sufi work by Nūruddīn b. 'Alī b. Ḥasanji b. Muḥammad Ḥamīd, better known as Nūruddīn al-Rānīrī (d. 1658), as a counter to the *wujūdīyah* interpretation of *lā ilāha illallāh*;

(b) *Asrār al-sulūk ilá malik al-mulūk* (The Secret of the Path to the King of Kings) (ff. 4v-23v): a Malay Sufi work on the creation of the universe, the essence of God, *ittiḥād* (the level of a Sufi at which he/she is one with God), and *martabat lima* (five grades). These grades include *'ālam lāhūt, 'ālam jabarūt, 'ālam asmā', 'ālam malakūt,* and *'ālam malak*. This text is incomplete, since several of the final pages are missing, as indicated by the ill-fitting catchword on ff. 9v, 21v, and 23v.

The text provides no details regarding the author. Teuku Iskandar, however, describes this text as a handbook of Shaṭṭārīyah mysticism written by "…a student of Daud bin Ismail, who was a student of Abdur-Rauf Singkel…." (Iskandar 1999:384). This student probably refers to Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn, who is mentioned in MS 07_01126 of the Aceh Museum Collection as a student of Shaykh Bābā Dāwūd b. Ismā'īl Peunayong.[1] Accordingly, we may conclude that the author of *Asrār al-sulūk* is Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn;

(c) *'Umdat al-muḥtājīn ilá sulūk maslak al-mufradīn* (ff. 23v-55v/Iv): the first two-thirds of the text (Chapters 1-6) are missing, while the following words on the beginning of the page belong to Chapter 6 (f. 23r) and are found on f. 34r of MS 07_00963: …*Alif Lam Mim Tanzil itu datang ia pada*

[1] Regarding the role of Shaykh Bābā Dāwūd b. Ismā'īl Peunayong in terms of intellectual Islamic tradition in the Malay world, see (Fathurahman 2015:293-309).

hari kiamat, padahal adalah baginya dua sayap…. According to the colophon on f. Iv or 55v, this manuscript belongs to Teuku Tanjung. ʻAbd al-Raʼūfʼs Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah is found on ff. 50v-50r;

(d) another copy of *Shifāʼ al-qulūb* by Nūruddīn al-Rānīrī (ff. IIv-IIIv or 56v-57v): a note at the end of this text, probably added later by a different author, reads as follows: …*ṣāḥibuhu Ḥasan b. Musa b. Teungku di Blang D-r-a-ng mewakafkan kitab ini kepada segala anaknya hingga cucunya dengan bertali-tali s-y-k yang ada berilmunya…* (the owner of this manuscript is Ḥasan b. Musa b. Teungku di Blang D-r-a-ng, who has appropriate knowledge and who continuously passed it down to his sons and grandsons).

Description of MS 07_00966

This manuscript, written in Malay and Arabic, is 21 × 16 cm and includes 73 folios (ff. 1r-73v), with the first few pages missing; no binding; 16 lines per page; European paper; black ink with red rubrics; and illustrations concerning the invocation (*dhikr*) of *lā ilāha illallāh* on ff. 15v-16r. In addition, it has been restored by lamination.

This manuscript consists of the following texts:

(a) *ʻUmdat al-muḥtājīn ilá sulūk maslak al-mufradīn* (ff. 1r-55v): the beginning of Chapter 1 is missing; the text begins as follows: …*sekalian itu pada kalimat lā ilāha illallāh Muḥammad rasūlullāh…* ʻAbd al-Raʼūfʼs Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah is found on ff. 52v-52r. From the three copies examined in this study, this is the most complete version of *ʻUmdat al-muḥtājīn*, and it exhibited no significant codicological problems.

The colophon on f. 55v reads as follows: *pada hari Ahad tammat al-kitab pada bulan Syawal tengah duapuluh hari bulan, wa-ṣallallāhu ʻalá sayyidinā Muḥammad wa-ālihi wa-ṣaḥbihi wa-sallama, āmīn yā Allāh yā rabb al-ʻālamīn, qabūl muʼminīn* (this work was completed on Sunday, 20 Shawwal, Allah's blessings and peace be upon him, his family, and his companions, amen O Allah, the Lord of the worlds, the Answerer of believers);

(b) *Qaṣīdat al-munfarijah* (The poem of relief) (ff. 55r-57r, with the following folio being blank): this Arabic poem was usually recited against oppressors and was composed by the Algerian Sufi master Abū al-Faḍl Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, also known as al-Nahwī al-Tawzarī or Sidi b. al-Nahwī. He was born in Tawzar in southern Yunisa in 1042. The exist-

ence of this poem in Aceh is interesting as it mentions the historical struggle of the Aceh people against the colonialism of the Portuguese and the Dutch;

(c) *Sharḥ du'ā' Rasul* (A commentary on the Prophet's prayer) (ff. 59v-60r): a Malay explanation of the advantage of the prayer *Ism al-a'ẓam*, in which the opening lines read as follows: *bab inilah pada menyatakan syarah dua tatkala Rasulullah ṣallallāhu 'alayh wa-sallama duduk dalam Masjid Madinah, dalam antara itu datang Jabrā'il 'alayhi al-salam…* (Here is a chapter that deals with a commentary of prayer, once the Prophet, Allah's blessing and peace be upon him, sat down in the Mosque of Medina, then the Angel Jabrā'il, peace be upon him, came…);

(d) a Malay prayer and amulet to neutralize poison (f. 61r): the opening line reads as follows: *ini obat segala penawar dan racun, disuratkan pada cawan putih diminum airnya…* (This is to neutralize all poisons, to be written on a white cup, and to drink);

(e) *Mawā'iẓ al-badī'* (The marvelous exhortation) (ff. 62r-73v): an ethical Malay work based on *ḥadīth qudsī* (the words of God repeated by Muḥammad), written by 'Abd al-Ra'ūf ibn'Alī al-Jāwī al-Fanṣūrī; the end of this text is missing.

Due to the incompleteness of *'Umdat al-muḥtājīn* in MS 07_00506, in which the beginning and the largest parts of the text are missing, as well as the extremely poor condition of MS 07_00963, I utilize MS 07_00966 as the basis for preparing a Malay edition of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah, while MS 07_00506 will be consulted to clarify uncertainties.

The following is the Malay text of the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf:

> ***Adapun*** *sanad silsilah segala penghulu kita yang dibangsakan kepada jalan Shaṭṭārī dan pertemuan kita dengan dia, maka yaitu telah mengambil zikir fakir yang hina yaitu* ***'Abd al-Ra'ūf*** *daripada Shaykh 'ārif billāh lagi kamil mukammil, yaitu* ***Shaykh*** *Aḥmad al-Qushāshī anak Shaykh Muḥammad Madanī*
> ***dan*** *lagi Shaykh Aḥmad al-Qushāshī itu mengambil daripada Shaykh Aḥmad al-Shināwī*
> *dan lagi ia mengambil daripada*[2] *<Sulṭān al-'Ārifīn Sayyid Ṣibghatullāh*

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[1] Eng.: "Concerning the chain of authorities of the Shaṭṭārīyah order, and our contact with it, this humble and poor Abd al-Ra'uf received the (authority of) *dhikr* from the Gnostic and perfect master of Shaykh Aḥmad al-Qushāshī, son of Shaykh Muḥammad Madanī."

[2] Eng.: "he, in turn, received the authority from."

***dan** lagi dia mengambil daripada>*[1] *Shaykh Wajīh al-Dīn ʻAlawī*
dan lagi ia mengambil daripada Sayyid Muḥammad al-Ghawth
dan lagi ia mengambil daripada Shaykh Ḥāji Huḍūri
dan lagi ia mengambil daripada Shaykh Hidāyatullāh Sarmasti
dan lagi ia mengambil daripada Imām Qāḍi Shaṭṭārī
dan lagi ia mengambil daripada Shaykh ʻAbdullāh Shaṭṭārī
dan lagi ia mengambil daripada Shaykh Muḥammad ʻĀrif
dan lagi ia mengambil daripada Shaykh[2] *Muḥammad ʻĀshiq*
dan lagi ia mengambil daripada Shaykh Khudāqulī
dan lagi ia mengambil daripada Shaykh Quṭb Abī al-Ḥasan al-Ḥirqanī
dan lagi ia mengambil daripada Shaykh Abī al-Muẓaffar Turki al-Tūsī
dan lagi ia mengambil daripada Shaykh ʻArabī Yazīd al-ʻIshqī
dan lagi ia mengambil daripada Shaykh al-Maghribī
dan lagi ia mengambil daripada rūḥānīyah Sulṭān al-ʻĀrifīn yaitu Shaykh Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī
dan lagi ia mengambil daripada rūḥānīyah Imām Jaʻfar al-Ṣādiq
dan lagi ia mengambil daripada Imām Muḥammad al-Bāqir
dan lagi ia mengambil daripada Imām Zayn al-ʻĀbidīn
dan lagi ia mengambil daripada amīr al-muʻminīn Ḥusayn yang syahid
dan lagi ia mengambil daripada pintu ilmu yaitu ʻĀlī al-murtaḍá b. Abī Ṭālib raḍiyallāh ʻanhu
dan lagi ia mengambil daripada penghulu kita dan penghulu segala nabi, yaitu Nabi Muḥammad ṣallallāhu ʻalayh wa-sallama
bahwa inilah sanad penghulu kita yang dibangsakan kepada jalan Shaṭṭārī.[3]

2. Silsilah of Bābā Dāwūd b. Ismāʻīl Peunayong

No independent Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of Bābā Dāwūd has been found. Instead, the silsilah belongs to his student, Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn. Moreover, his Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah is not separated from another Qādirīyah silsilah to which Bābā Dāwūd and Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn were affiliated.

With regard to this study, this is the only Shaṭṭārīyah lineage of ʻAbd al-Raʼūf's students in Aceh. This silsilah is found on ff. 177r-178r of MS 07_01126 from Aceh Museum Collection.[4]

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[1] This part, missing from the text, is confirmed by MS 07_00506.

[2] The text includes dittography: *mengambil daripada Shaykh mengambil daripada Shaykh*.

[3] Eng.: "here is the chain of our masters in the Shaṭṭārīyah path."

[4] Source: MS 07_01126 in ("Manuskrip-manuskrip peninggalan Aceh" n.d.)

Description of MS 07_01126

This manuscript, written in Malay and Arabic, is 18 × 11 cm and includes 200 folios, with the final two being blank and numbered I and II; binding for only the back cover; 19 lines per page; European paper; and black ink with red rubrics.

The manuscript comprises many fragmented texts, mostly concerning the mutually correlated disciplines of theology and Sufism. Several texts are independent works written by Acehnese scholars such as Nūruddīn al-Rānīrī and ʻAbd al-Raʼūf. This manuscript consists of the following texts:

(a) *Ḥifẓ al-īmān* (The protection of faith) (ff. 1r-2r): these pages deal with judgment that some Islamic schools of theology, such as Muʼtazilah, is considered as heretics and those who follow them as infidels (*kāfir*);

(b) fragmented Malay texts on various issues (ff. 3v-33r), such as the ways of *dhikr*; the seven grades of emanation (*martabat tujuh*); the four conditions of the heart (*ammārah, lawwāmah, sawīyah, and muṭma'innah*); the mystical state of a person on the verge of death (*sakarat al-mawt*); *bab pada menyatakan mengenal diri dan mengenal Tuhan* (a chapter on knowing oneself and the Lord). This section concludes with a *khātimat al-risālah* (the end of the treatise), which mentions 14 main Sufi orders. Among them, the Shaṭṭārīyah and Qādirīyah are regarded as the easiest and highest. A part of the text (ff. 29r-30v) states the following: …*tetapi yang terlebih mudah dan yang terlebih tinggi daripada sekalian itu tarekat Shaṭṭārī dari karena tarekat ini sekalian amalnya dan zikirnya dan syugulnya akan Quran dan hadis Rasulullah Saw. dan kerja segala sahabatnya, demikian lagi tarekat Qādirī*… (but among them, the easiest and highest are the Shaṭṭārī order, for all its practices, *dhikr*, and rituals are based on the Quran, the prophetic tradition, and the *athar* of the companions. That is what also happened to the Qādirī order);

(c) Fragmented texts in Malay and Arabic regarding the saints of Allah (walī); a *tawaṣṣul*, which entails beseeching or supplicating to the Prophet Muhammad and certain Sufi masters; the intention and time of prayers; *martabat tujuh* with illustrations; and other Sufi texts (ff. 33r-101v). The names mentioned in the *tawaṣṣul* include Sayyid al-Shaykh Imām Bayt Allāh, Sayyid al-Shaykh ʻAbd al-Sharīf, Sayyid al-Shaykh Mawlānā al-Khaṭīb, Sayyid al-Shaykh Dawān, Sayyid al-Shaykh Haji ʻAbd al-Salām, and Sayyid al-Shaykh Aḥmad Nūr. There is no further

information regarding their identities. The end of the *tawaṣṣul* reads as follows: *…inilah k-d-r-kh-a-j-a 'i-b-a-d w-k-b-r yang muhtaj kepada Allah taala, yaitu Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥusayn Ulakan nama negrinya dan kampungnya…* (This is (unidentified words) of the poor servant of God, Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥusayn, from the city of Ulakan…);[1]

(d) *Asal penciptaan alam* (The origins of the universe) (ff. 101r-109r): a brief Malay text by Nūruddīn b. 'Alī b. Ḥasanjī b. Muḥammad Ḥamīd. A part of the text reads as follows: *…maka jika ditanyai seorang, di mana alam dahulu daripada dijadikan Allah taala, dan apa wujudnya, dan apa ainnya, dan apa namanya?…* (If somebody asked, where was the universe before being created by the Highest Allah, what is form, what is essence, and what is it called?). This work is followed by another fragmented text regarding *makrifat sembahyang* (the knowledge of prayer);

(e) another copy of *Shifā' al-qulūb* by Nūruddīn al-Rānīrī (ff. 110v-112v): see the descriptions of MS 07_00506 (a) and (d);

(f) *Bayān al-iṭlāq* (The explanation of absoluteness) (ff. 112v-115r): a Malay treatise by 'Abd al-Ra'ūf b. 'Alī al-Jāwī al-Fanṣūrī concerning the essential meanings of the negation (*nafy*) and affirmation (*ithbāt*) of the sacred phrase *lā ilāha illallāh*;

(g) miscellaneous short Malay Sufi texts with illustrations of *a'yān thābitah* (the unchanging essence), *martabat tujuh*, *Nūr Muḥammad* (The light of Muḥammad), and the state of a person on the verge of death (*sakarat al-mawt*) (ff. 116v-167v);

(h) *Shams al-ma'rifah ilá ḥaḍratihi al-sharīfah* (The sun of gnosis toward His noble presence) (ff. 167v-178r): a Malay Sufi treatise by Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn on the interpretation of *martabat tujuh*. A part of the text reads as follows: *…syahdan adapun martabat turun temurun Allah taala menjadikan sekalian alam itu tujuh perkara dengan ijmalnya…* (As per the grades on the basis of which the Highest Allah created the universe, there are seven things on the whole). Ff. 177v-178r includes a closing section (*khātimat al-risālah*) that contains Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn's Shaṭṭārīyah and Qādirīyah silsilahs (ff. 177v-178r). The first part of the silsilah reads as follows: *…maka adalah fakir yang hina Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn mengambil baiat dan talkin dan khirqah dan*

[1] Ulakan probably refers to a location in the Minangkabau area in West Sumatra, where a student of 'Abd al-Ra'uf, Burhanuddin Ulakan, began spreading the Shaṭṭārīyah order during the late seventeenth century.

ijazah daripada shaykhnya yang 'ārif billāh, yaitu Shaykh Bābā Dāwūd b. Isma'il Peunayong… (The humble Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn took a vow of allegiance and authority [*bay'ah, talqīn, khirqah,* and *ijāzah*] from his gnostic master, Shaykh Baba Dāwūd b. Ismā'īl Peunayong). Another part reads as follows: *…adapun peraturan silsilah kita yang dibangsakan tarekat Shaṭṭārī daripada fakir yang mengarang risalah ini…* (As of the chain of authority of the author of this work in the Shaṭṭārīyah order…).[1] These confirm that the author of this work is Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn, the owner of the silsilahs;

(i) *Ilmu isyarat tatkala hendak jima dengan perempuan* (A knowledge of signs related to having sexual intercourse with a woman) (ff. 179v-193v): a Malay explanation regarding the practices of having ideal sex with a woman, ways to prevent premature ejaculation, and other related issues. These practices are consider to be passed down from Marhum Meukuta Alam, a label for Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607-1636). A part of the text reads as follows: *…bermula isyarat ini daripada Marhum Meukuta Alam dalam negeri Aceh, ialah raja laki-laki lagi bijaksana lagi arif pada pekerjaan dunia dan akhirat, turun menurun kepada orang yang besar-besar…* (this sign is inherited from Marhum Meukuta Alam in Aceh, a strong and wise ruler in this world [*dunyā*] and the hereafter [*akhīrah*], and continuously inherited by some elites);

(j) fragmented Malay Sufi texts regarding the interpretation of the *lā ilāha illallāh*, *martabat tujuh* doctrine, and a critique of the doctrine (ff. 193v-198r).

The following is the text of the Shaṭṭārīyah and Qādirīyah silsilahs of Shaykh Bābā Dāwūd b. Isma'il Peunayong and Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn:

> ***Khātimat al-risālah***,[2] *inilah kesudahan-kesudahan risalah pada menyatakan silsilah tarekat yang amat tinggi martabatnya, yaitu tarekat Qādirī dan Shaṭṭārī*[3]
> *yaitu maka adalah fakir yang hina, Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn mengambil baiat dan talqin dan khirqah dan ijazah daripada Shaykhnya yang arif billah, yaitu Shaykh Bābā Dāwūd b. Isma'il Peunayong*
> *dan* ***ia*** *mengambil daripada Shaykhnya*[4] *Amin al-din 'Abd al-Ra'ūf*

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[1] See the full text of the silsilah below.

[2] The text: *al-risalah*.

[3] Eng.: "end of the treatise, here are the endings of the treatise deal with the silsilahs of two high-level Sufi orders, Qādirī and Shaṭṭārī."

[4] Eng.: "he, in turn, got the authority from his master."

*<dan **ia** mengambil daripada Shaykhnya Ṣafī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qushāshī>*[1]
*dan **ia** mengambil daripada Shaykhnya Aḥmad Shanāwī*
*dan **ia** mengambil daripada Shaykhnya Sayyid Ṣibghatullāh*[2]
*dan **ia** mengambil daripada Shaykhnya Wajīh*[3] *al-Dīn ʻAlawī*
*dan **ia** mengambil daripada Shaykhnya Sayyid Muḥammad al-Gawth*
*dan **ia** mengambil daripada Shaykhnya Ḥāji Ḥuḍūri*
*dan **ia** mengambil daripada Shaykhnya Hidāyatullāh Sarmasti*
*dan **ia** mengambil daripada Shaykhnya ʻAlāʼ al-Dīn*
*dan **ia** mengambil daripada Shaykhnya ʻAbd al-Wahhāb*
*dan **ia** mengambil daripada Shaykhnya ʻAbd al-Raʼūf*
*dan **ia** mengambil daripada Shaykhnya Maḥmūd*
*dan **ia** mengambil daripada Shaykhnya ʻAbd al-Ghaffār*
*dan **ia** mengambil daripada Shaykhnya Muḥammad*
*dan **ia** mengambil daripada Shaykhnya ʻAlī*
*dan **ia** mengambil daripada Jaʻfar*
*dan **ia** mengambil daripada Shaykhnya ʻAbd Allāh*
*dan **ia** mengambil daripada Shaykhnya ʻAbd al-Razzāq*
*dan **ia** mengambil daripada Shaykhnya yang Quṭb al-Aqṭāb Shaykhina ʻAbd al-Qādir Jaylānī*
*dan **ia** mengambil daripada Shaykhnya Abī Saʻīd*
*dan **ia** mengambil daripada Shaykhnya Abī al-Ḥasan*
*dan **ia** mengambil daripada Shaykhnya Abī al-Farj*
*dan **ia** mengambil daripada Shaykhnya Abī al-Faḍl*
*dan **ia** mengambil daripada Shaykhnya Abī Bakr Shiblī*
*dan **ia** mengambil daripada Shaykhnya Junayd al-Baghdadī*
*dan **ia** mengambil daripada Shaykhnya Sirrī Saqṭī*
*dan **ia** mengambil daripada Shaykhnya Maʻrūf Karkhī*
*dan **ia** mengambil daripada Shaykhnya Imām anak Mūsá raḍiya*
*dan **ia** mengambil daripada Shaykhnya Mūsá al-Kāmilah*
*dan **ia** mengambil daripada Shaykhnya Imām Jaʻfar Ṣādiq*
*dan **ia** mengambil daripada Shaykhnya Imām Muḥammad Bāqir*
*dan **ia** mengambil daripada Shaykhnya Imām Zayn al-Ābidīn*
*dan **ia** mengambil daripada Shaykhnya ayahnya Ḥusayn yang syahid*
*dan **ia** mengambil daripada Shaykhnya amīr al-muʼminīn ʻAlī*
*dan **ia** mengambil daripada penghulu sekalian alam **Muḥammad** ṣallallāhu ʻalayh wa-sallama*

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[1] The editor added this part, for Abd al-Raʼuf was never a direct disciple of al-Shināwī, but one of al-Qushāshī.

[2] The text: *Ṣifatullāh*.

[3] The text: *Wajh*.

demikianlah tertib peraturan silsilah *kita yang dibangsakan kepada tarekat Qādirī*[1]

Adapun *peraturan silsilah kita yang dibangsakan tarekat Shaṭṭārī daripada fakir yang mengarang risalah ini sampai kepada Shaykh Hidāyatullāh Sarmasti bersamaan jua dengan silsilah Qādirī. Maka Shaykh inilah yang menghimpunkan sekalian tarekat yang amat banyak.*[2]
Maka *daripada Shaykh inilah pula naik kepada*[3] *Imām Qāḍī Shaṭṭārī*
dan *ia mengambil daripada Shaykhnya ʻAbdullāh*
dan *ia mengambil daripada Shaykhnya Muḥammad ʻĀrif*
dan *ia mengambil daripada Shaykhnya Muḥammad ʻĀshiq*
dan *ia mengambil daripada Shaykhnya Ḥudaqilī*
dan *ia mengambil daripada Shaykhnya yang Quṭub Abī al-Ḥasan*
dan *ia mengambil daripada Shaykhnya Abī al-Muẓẓaffar*
dan *ia mengambil daripada Shaykhnya Aʻrābī Yazīd al-ʻIshqī*
dan *ia mengambil daripada Shaykhnya Muḥammad Magribī*
dan *ia mengambil daripada Shaykhnya bangsa rūḥānī Yazīd al-Busṭāmī*
dan *ia mengambil daripada rūḥānī Imām Jaʻfar Ṣādiq*
dan *ia mengambil daripada Imām Muḥammad Bāqir*
dan *ia mengambil daripada Imām Zayn al-Ābidīn*
dan *ia mengambil daripada amīr Ḥusayn*
dan *ia mengambil daripada ayahnya, pintu ilmu ʻAlī al-murtaḍā karramallāhu wajhahu*[4]
dan *ia mengambil daripada Rasulullah rabb al-ʻālamīn Muḥammad ṣallallāhu ʻalayh wa-sallama*
dan *ia daripada Allah ʻazza wa-jalla*
maka inilah *silsilah yang dibangsakan kepada tarekat Shaṭṭārī raḥimahumullāh ajmaʻīn*
Setelah itu *maka adalah pula fakir mengambil ilmu makrifat Allah daripada Nabi Allah ḥaḍrat ʻalayhi al-salām*
dan *daripada khalifatullah Sayyid al-Shaykh ʻAbd al-Qadīr Jaylānī qaddasa Allāh sirrahu pada halnya muwafakat dengan makrifat Allah yang turun temurun daripada segala ahli silsilah yang tersebut itu*
Maka beberapa lagi tinggal silsilah yang bersambut dengan silsilah kita ini tersebut dalam kitab [al-]Simṭ al-majīd karangan yang Quṭb, yaitu Aḥmad al-Qushāshī

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1 Eng.: "That is the sequence of our silsilah in the Qādirī order."

2 Eng.: "As of the sequence of our silsilah in the Shaṭṭārī order, from the humble author of this work to Shaykh Hidāyatullāh Sarmasti, it is identical with that in the Qādirī. Thus, here is this Shaykh who combines many different Sufi orders."

3 Eng.: "Thus, (the chain) emerges from this Shaykh to…."

4 Eng.: "he, in turn, received the authority from his father, the door of knowledge, ʻAlī al-murtaḍā, may Allah honor him."

raḥmatullah ta'ālá, maka tiadalah fakir sebutkan dalam risalah ini karena mengambil simpan wa-billah al-tawfīq wa-ilá al-taḥqīq, amīn yā rabb al-'ālamīn, tammat al-kitāb ini pada hari malam Ahad waktu Isya, wallāhu a'lam.[1]

3. Silsilah of al-Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ

There is no date or additional information in the manuscript that reveals Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ's identity; the only clue is that this manuscript quotes *Naṣīḥat al-muslimīn*, which probably refers to the Arabic work written by 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Jāwī al-Palimbānī (ca. 1704-ca. 1789), the eighteenth century Palembang scholar.

Furthermore, since the manuscript belongs to the Aceh Museum Collection, it is important to consider that a significant portion of this collection may have come from or has a relationship with Zawiyah Tanoh Abee. Another manuscript in this collection (07_882) includes an ownership note (f. 1r), which reads as follows: *…telah diizinkan oleh yang empunya kitab ini akan hamba 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm, raḥmatullāh 'alayhi, Tanoh Abee ghafarallāhumma āmin….*

Accordingly, we may assume that the following Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah belongs to al-Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Baghdadī (d. 1855) of Tanoh Abee, Seulimum, the father of the most respected leader of Zawiyah Tanoh Abee, 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Baghdādī (d. 1894), better known as Teungku Chik Tanoh Abee. However, it should be noted that the *murshids* listed after Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ and before Ibrāhīm Ṭāhir differ from those mentioned in the silsilah of 'Abd al-Wahhāb.

According to this silsilah, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ was initiated into the Shaṭṭārīyah order by 'Abd Allāh b. Jamāl al-Dīn Ṭāhir al-Madanī, who was initiated by his father, Ibrāhīm Ṭāhir, who was initiated by his father, Muḥammad Ṭāhir (1670-1732),[2] who was initiated by his father, al-Mulā Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, who was initiated by Aḥmad al-Qushāshī.

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[1] Eng.: "After that, I learnt the gnostic of Allah from the Prophet, may peace upon him, and from the representative of Allah, Sayyid al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadīr Jaylānī, may God sanctify his soul, which is in line with the gnostic of Allah, and continuously inherited through those in the chain. There are other silsilahs that have contact with us and are mentioned in *al-Simṭ al-majīd* by the Quṭb Aḥmad al-Qushāshī, may Allah have mercy on him, but which I do not cite here for efficiency purposes; *wa-billah al-tawfīq wa-ilá al-taḥqīq, amīn yā rabb al-'ālamīn*; this work was finished at the Isha time on Saturday night, and Allah knows best."

[2] He had connections in the network of Islamic scholars during the late 18th and early 19th

Description of MS 07_007786

This manuscript, written in Malay and Arabic by al-Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ (f. 50r), is 15.5 × 10.5 cm and includes 54 folios; 11 lines per page; European paper; a watermark of three crescents, which was commonly used for Islamic manuscripts during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Jones 1998: 109); a leather cover; black ink with red rubrics; and a frame with red double lines.

This manuscript consists of the following texts:

(a) a compact guide for *ḥajj* and *'umrah* regarding the pilgrimage to Mecca, including various prayers to recite. The explanation for Arabic prayers is in Malay (ff. 1v-22r);

(b) a compilation of prayers, *azimat*s, *rajah*s, and their advantages (*fā'idah*) for various purposes (ff. 23v-46v): These include *syarah ayat lima belas*, *syarah Fatihah*, *syarah doa Isma'il*, *syarah doa nubuwat*, and *doa hendak menggantung padi*. One of the prayers quoted is from *Naṣīḥat al-muslimīn* (f. 43r);

(c) *Manāsik al-ḥajj*: a brief Arabic text concerning the pillars of *ḥajj* and *'umrah* written by al-Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ. The colophon reads as follows: *tammat manāsik al-ḥajj, ṣanafa al-Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ…* (ff. 46r-50r);

(d) *Ṭarīqat al-sādah al-Shaṭṭārīyah*: the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of an individual who called himself "*al-faqīr*," which is preceded by guidelines regarding *bay'ah*, which is required to enter a Sufi order. Having considered al-Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, who is noted as the author of the immediately preceding text, "*al-faqīr*" presumably refers to him as the owner of this silsilah. The silsilah is said to be based on al-Qushāshī's *al-Simṭ al-majīd* (ff. 51v-52r);

(e) a brief Malay text that provides good names for a newborn child. The opening lines read as follows: *bab ini barangsiapa beranak ia pada malam ahad, maka dinamanya Ibrahim…dan jika perempuan dinamanya akan dia Halimah…* (this chapter is for whoever gives birth on Sunday, then suggests the name Ibrahim…or Halimah for a girl…) (ff. 53v-54v).

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centuries by way of both *ḥadīth isnād*s and Sufi order silsilah*s*. Among his best-known students were Muḥammad Hayyat al-Sindi, Shah Wali Allah, and Sulayman al-Kurdi. See Azra 2004:30.

The following is the complete text of the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of al-Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ:

> *Alḥamd lillāh, talqīn al-faqīr ilá Allāh ta'ālá*
> *'an al-faqīr ilayh 'azza sha'nuh shaykhihi 'Abd Allāh b. al-Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Ṭāhir al-Madanī*
> *'an wālidih wa-'an jaddih al-Shaykh Ibrāhīm Ṭāhir*
> *wa-'an wālidih al-Shaykh Muḥammad Ṭāhir*
> *wa-'an wālidih al-Mulā Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī*
> *'an al-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Qushāshī*
> *'an al-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Shināwī*
> *'an al-Sayyid Ṣibghatullāh*
> *'an Sayyidinā Wajīh al-Dīn 'Alawī*
> *'an al-Sayyid[1] Muḥammad al-Ghawth*
> *'an al-Shaykh Ḥāji Huḍūri*
> *'an al-Shaykh Hadīyatullāh Sarmasat*
> *'an al-Shaykh Qāḍīna al-Shaṭṭārī*
> *'an al-Shaykh 'Abdullāh al-Shaṭṭārī*
> *'an al-Shaykh Muḥammad 'Ārif*
> *'an al-Shaykh Muḥammad 'Āshiq*
> *'an al-Shaykh Khadāqalī*
> *'an al-Shaykh Abī al-Ḥasan al-Khirqanī*
> *'an al-Shaykh Abī al-Muẓaffar Turki al-Tūsī*
> *'an al-Imām Yazīd al-'Ishqī*
> *'an al-Shaykh Muḥammad al-Maghribī*
> *'an al-Imām Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī*
> *'an al-Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq*
> *'an al-Imām Muḥammad Bāqir*
> *'an al-Imām Zayn al-'Ābidīn*
> *'an al-Imām Ḥusayn al-shahīd*
> *wa-'an Sayyidinā 'Ālī b. Abī Ṭālib raḍiyallāh 'anhu*
> *'an al-nabī ṣallallāhu 'alayh wa-sallama*
> *min al-Simṭ al-majīd li-Sayyidinā al-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Qushāshī qaddasallāh amīn, tamma.*

4. Silsilah of Yūsuf anak Lebai Shah Padang Marbu

Currently, the available sources allow us to only suggest that Yūsuf anak Lebai Shah Padang Marbu was an Acehnese student who lived during the late eighteenth century. In addition, the silsilah states that his murshid was

[1] This is a correction of the annulled word *al-Shaykh*.

Haji Maḥmūd b. Haji ʻAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʻAbdullāh from j-r-b-w-n (probably Cirebon?), who studied with Ibrāhīm Madīnat Rasūlullāh, who received his ijāzah from Muḥammad Ṭāhir Madīnat Rasūlullāh (1670-1732), who was initiated by Ḥasan al-ʻAjamī (d. 1702), who was initiated by Aḥmad Qushāshī (Voll 1975, 33).

His Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah is found on ff. 2v-3v of the MS 07_00104 from the Aceh Museum Collection.

Description of MS 07_00104

This manuscript, written in Malay, is 20 × 15 cm and includes 19 folios, 15 lines per page, European paper, and black ink with several red rubrics. The old number of manuscript provided by the museum is 104, and the author is presumably Yusuf Lebai Shah Padang Marbu.

There are two colophons found in the text. One, on f. 7v, states that the text was completed on a Thursday afternoon in Rabīʻ al-thānī 1202 (January 1788). The colophon reads as follows: *…maka kami khatamkan lah risalah ini qabl al-ṣalāt al-zuhr yawm khāmis shahr rabīʻ al-thānī sanat 1202 wa-baʻd hijrat al-nubuwwah*…. The second colophon, written by the same author and completed on a Wednesday on 15 Shaʻbān (supposedly in the same year as the first colophon), reads as follows: *tammat al-kalām hari Sabtu lima belas hari bulan Sya'ban*….

After the description of the title, a warning note is found on the back of f. 1v, which prohibits reading this work unless one possesses ample Islamic knowledge as well as has been guided and authorized by a teacher (*murshid*). The text reads as follows: *…fasal inilah kitab silsilah tarekat Syatariyah, inilah jika bukan ahli dia maka jangan siapa-siapa buka lihat dia; jika dibuka lihat seperti membuka lihat api neraka Jahanam, jika tiada dengan ijazah gurunya, maka kenalah murka Allah lah iya*…. A similar tone is found on f. 6v, which concerns the mystical diagram of Shaṭṭārīyah *dhikr*. It reads as follows: *…janganlah engkau perlihatkan dā'irah (diagram) ini kepada orang yang lain*….

The author explains that one of the teachers with whom he studied (but who was not listed in the silsilah) was Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī, the Imam of the Grave (*maqām*) Ibrāhīm and a well-known scholar in Mecca in 1196 AH (ca. 1780).

This manuscript consists of the following texts:

(a) Yūsuf anak Lebai Shah Padang Marbu's Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah: Part of the first lines read as follows (with several scribal errors): *…wa-talaqqana wa-ṣafaḥa wa-sabbaḥa wa-labisa al-khirqah al-Shaṭṭārīyah Yūsuf anak Lebai Shah Padang Marbu…* (2v-7v). The silsilah is followed by an explanation regarding the conditions of performing *dhikr* of *lā ilāha illallāh*. The first words read as follows: *…inilah risalah pada menyatakan akan ke<te>tapan zikir itu yaitu empat belas perkara….* These conditions were said to have been encouraged by *guru kami* (our teacher) Ibrāhīm Madīnat Rasūlullāh in Medina, who taught it to further his students, including Lebai Yusuf (f. 4r). The text reads as follows: *…dan lagi pesan guru kita janganlah engkau lupa dan lalai akan zikir ini yang sudah tersebut ini dan lagi menyuruh guru kami Shaykh Ibrāhīm Madīnat Rasūlullāh kepada fakir 'Abd al-Ṣamad…;*

(b) *Perintah jalan tarekat*: a brief text regarding daily rituals that should be performed by Shaṭṭārīyah followers (ff. 7v-9r): the opening lines read as follows: *…fasal pada menyatakan perintah yang dikerjakan pada jalan tarek<at> ini terlalu banyak, setengah dari padanya membaca Quran pada malam….* The end of the text states the following: *…telah mengambil tarekat ini Encik Yusuf pada fakir Haji Mahmud…;*

(c) *Aqa'id iman*: a text concerning the attributes of God and the Prophet based on the interpretation of *lā ilāha illallāh*. This explanation is considered to have been taught by Shaykh 'Alī Jazā'ir (ff. 10v-11r);

(d) an Arabic prayer with a Malay introduction that is read following an oath (*bay'ah*) to enter the order. The introduction reads as follows: *…ini dua dibaca tatkala hendak menurunkan bai'at kepada seseorang…;* (ff. 11r-12v);

(e) *Sakarat al-mawt*: a Malay text by 'Abd al-Ra'ūf b. 'Alī al-Jāwī al-Fanṣūrī that concerns the Sufi perspective on the state of a person on the verge of death (*sakarat al-mawt*). This work is considered to be the author's response to and clarification of a syncretic myth regarding *sakarat al-mawt* in the Malay world (ff. 13v-19r).

A part of the text reads as follows: *…adapun segala rupa seperti yang telah tersebut itu, yang datang iya kepada manusia yang hampir sakaratul maut itu rupa hitam dan rupa yang merah dan rupa kuning dan rupa putih dan rupa kita itu, maka yaitu tiada pernah kudapatkan akan dia pada sekalian kitab dan hadis, dan tiada pernah kudapat daripada segala kitab kaum ahli Sufi…* The end of the text specifies 'Abd al-Ra'ūf as the author (f. 19r).

The following is the complete text of the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of Yusuf anak Lebai Shah Padang Marbu:

> *Bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm, al-ḥamd lillāh rabb al-ʻālamīn, wa-al-ṣalāh wa-al-salām ʻalá man lā nabīya baʻdah*
> *wa-talaqqana*[1] *wa-ṣāfaḥa*[2] *wa-sabbaḥa wa-labisa*[3] *al-khirqah al-Shaṭṭārīyah Yūsuf anak Lebai Padang Shah Marbu*
> *mengambil tarekat Shaṭṭārīyah daripada fakir yang teramat daif daripada sekalian fakir lagi jānī*[4] *yang amat daif dengan ibadatnya dan yang sanya pun daif melainkan minta dua kepada Allah dan Rasulullahnya tetep imannya dalam dunia sampai akhirat, yaitu fakir al-Ḥājj Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥājj ʻAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʻAbd Allāh, C-r-b-w-n nama negrinya*
> *ia mengambil ijazah daripada bapaknya*
> *dan bapaknya mengambil ijazah daripada gurunya, Mawlānā Shaykh Ibrāhīm Madīnat Rasūlullāh*[5]
> *dan ia mengambil daripada Mawlānā Shaykh Muḥammad Ṭāhir Madīnat Rasūlullāh*[6]
> *dan ia mengambil daripada Mawlānā Shaykh Ḥasan al-ʻAjamī*
> *maka ia mengambil daripada Mawlānā Shaykh Aḥmad Qushāshī*
> *maka ia mengambil daripada Mawlānā Shaykh Aḥmad al-Shanāwī*
> *maka ia mengambil daripada Mawlānā Shaykh Sayyid Ṣibghatullāh*
> *maka ia mengambil daripada Mawlānā Shaykh Sayyid Wajīh al-Dīn*
> *maka ia mengambil daripada Mawlānā Shaykh Muḥammad Ghawth*
> *maka ia mengambil daripada Mawlānā Shaykh Ḥāji Huḍūri*[7]
> *maka ia mengambil daripada [Maw]lānā Shaykh Hidāyatullāh Sarmasti nama negrinya*
> *maka ia mengambil daripada Mawlānā Shaykh*[8] *Qāḍi al-Shaṭṭārī*
> *maka ia mengambil daripada Mawlānā Shaykh ʻAbdullāh al-Shaṭṭārī* ***juga***
> *maka ia mengambil daripada Mawlānā Shaykh Muḥammad ʻĀrif*
> *maka ia mengambil daripada Mawlānā Shaykh Muḥammad ʻĀshiq*
> *maka ia mengambil daripada Mawlānā Shaykh Ḥudāqilī Māwirāhārī nama bangsanya*
> *maka ia mengambil daripada Mawlānā Shaykh Abī al-Ḥasan Ḥirqanī*
> *maka ia mengambil daripada Mawlānā Shaykh Abī Muzaffar Turki Ṭūsi*

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1. The text: *wa-talqin*.
2. The text: *wa-ṣāfaḥa*.
3. The text: *wa-labsu*.
4. Eng.: "a humble expression of committing sin."
5. The text: *al-Rasūlullāh*.
6. The text: *al-Rasūlullāh*.
7. The text: *Huṣūri*.
8. The text: *Saykh*.

maka ia mengambil daripada Mawlānā[1] *Shaykh Abī Yazīd al-'Ishqī*
maka ia mengambil daripada [Maw]llānā Shaykh Muḥammad Maghrib
maka ia mengambil daripada Mawlānā Shaykh Abī Yazīd al-Busṭāmī
maka ia mengambil daripada Mawlānā Shaykh al-Imām[2] *Ja'far Ṣādiq*
maka ia mengambil daripada Mawlānā Imām Muḥammad Bāqir
maka ia mengambil daripada Mawlānā Imām Zayn al-'Ābidīn
maka ia mengambil daripada Mawlānā Imām Ḥusayn Shahīd
maka ia mengambil daripada Mawlānā Imām 'Ālī al-Murtaḍá b. Abī Ṭālib raḍiyallāh 'anhu
ia mengambil daripada Sayyidinā wa-Mawlānā Muḥammad khātam al-nabīyīn ṣallallāh 'alayh wa-sallama
yaitu daripada Tuhan sekalian alam.

5. Silsilah of Muḥammad Khaṭīb Langgien

Muḥammad Khaṭīb Langgien or Teungku Khatib Langgien was a prominent nineteenth century Acehnese scholars. He probably lived until at least 1285 (ca. 1869), when one of his works, *Dawā' al-qulūb min al-ghuyūb*, was completed (see below).

His lineage in the Shaṭṭārīyah order can be traced back through Muḥammad 'Alī or Teungku Muḥammad 'Alī Pulo (d. ca. after 1870), an Acehnese scholar from Pulo Sueb, Lueng Putu, Pidie, who authored two Sufi works, *Sirāj al-Dīn* and *Ra's al-Dīn*. Teungku Muḥammad 'Alī Pulo received his Shaṭṭārīyah *ijāzah* from Muḥammad As'ad, who, in turn, was initiated by Muḥammad Sa'īd, who was initiated by Shaykh Ibrāhīm, who was initiated by Muḥammad Ṭāhir, who was initiated by Mūlā Ibrāhīm, who was initiated by Aḥmad al-Qushāshī.

Muḥammad Khaṭīb Langgien's silsilah is found on f. 59r of MS 07_00812, which belongs to the Aceh Museum Collection.

Description of MS 07_00812

This manuscript is 22 × 16 cm and includes 113 folios, 14-21 lines per page, European paper, a watermark of three crescents, and black ink with red rubrics. According to a colophon (f. 59r) of Muḥammad Khaṭīb Langgien's *Mi'raj al-sālikīn*, the work was completed on 10 Shawwāl, 1278 (ca. April 10, 1862), while another colophon (f. 112v) of *Dawā' al-qulūb min al-ghuyūb* by

[1] The text: *Mawlā Mawlānā*.

[2] The text: *al-Īmām*.

the same author stated that this work was completed on Thursday, 20 Shawwāl, 1285 (ca. February 3, 1869). The ownership note of the manuscript, found on f. 22r, reads as follows: *…ṣaḥibahu katabahu Teungku Nyak Him (?) empu kitabnya, balad makan negeri Aceh daerahnya….*

This manuscript consists of the following texts:

(a) *Qawā'id al-islām*: an anonymous Malay text regarding basic Islamic teachings on theology, especially to elaborate the meanings of the attributes of God (ff. 2v-17v);

(b) *Uṣūl al-dīn*: a brief Malay text on the attributes of God, followed by notes on the ownership of this manuscript (ff. 17r-23v);

(c) *Naat Rasulullah*: a brief Acehnese text concerning the characteristics of the Prophet, followed by a diagram on the seven grades doctrine (ff. 23r-25r);

(d) an Acehnese text on the attributes of God (ff. 26v-28r);

(e) guidelines to perform *dhikr* and *tawaṣṣul*, with special prayers for the *murshid* of the order (ff. 29v-30r);

(f) *Mafātīḥ al-ghuyūb bi-'awn al-malik al-ma'būd*, or as translated into Malay, *Anak kunci daripada segala gaib*: a Malay interpretation of the seven grades doctrine of the unity of being (ff. 31r-36r). A part of the text reads as follows (f. 31r): *…maka sebab itulah aku haturkan dalam kitab ini itu tujuh martabat…*;

(g) *Asrār al-dīn*: a Malay explanation of the five pillars of Islam (*arkān al-islām*) (ff. 37v-45v);

(h) *Mi'raj al-sālikīn ilá martabat al-wāṣilīn bi-jāh sayyid al-'ārifīn*: Malay guidelines for following the Sufi order written by Muḥammad Khaṭīb Langgien. This text is considered to have been written in response to a request by some of the author's friends. The end of the text comprises the author's silsilah in the Shaṭṭārīyah order. The colophon reads as follows: *…telah sempurnalah kitab pada hijrah Nabi ṣallallāhu 'alayh wa-sallama seribu dua ratus tujuh lapan tahun pada tahun jim pada bulan Shawal sepuluh hari bulan, insya Allah taala, ulan patempat kitab dengan taufiknya…* (ff. 45v-59r);

(i) *Risalah kalimat tauhid*: an anonymous text explaining both the phrase *lā ilāha illallāh* from the work *raqīm* (?) as well as conditions to be fulfilled by those who wish to enter the order of Ḥabīb 'Abdullāh b. Ḥabīb Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb al-Ḥaddād (ff. 59r-62v);

(j) *Kifāyat al-'ibādah*: a Malay text dealing with primary Islamic teachings that should be known by all Muslims who have reached *balīgh* (maturity in accordance with Islamic laws). A part of the text reads as follows: *…fasal pada menyatakan permulaan wajib atas segala mukalaf, yaitu orang yang aqil lagi baligh laki dan perempuan…* (ff. 63v-71v);

(k) *Dawā' al-qulūb min al-ghuyūb bi-'awn Allāh al-Malik al-'ālam al-shahādah wa-al-ghuyūb*: a Malay Sufi treatise concerning Islamic ethics written by Muḥammad Khaṭīb Langgien. It contains an introduction (*muqaddimah*), three chapters, and an epilog (*khātimah*). The colophon reads as follows: *…tamatlah fakir yang menyusunkan kitab akan ini pada hari Khamis pada bulan Syawal dua puluh dua hari bulannya dan pada Nabi sm seribu dua ratus lapan lima tahun pada tahun jim namanya, amin…* (ff. 72v-112v);

(l) A set of Arabic prayers (ff. 112v-113r).

The following is the complete text of the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of Muḥammad Khaṭīb Langgien:

> *Telah mengambil talqin dan baiat daripada sekalian syekh yang besar-besar yang empunyai kitab ini daripada fakir yang hina dunya dan yang menyusunkan kitab ini*[1] *yaitu yang terlebih sempurna dalam segala aib-aib, dan*[2] *yang senantiasa karam dalam laut sebut namanya Muḥammad anak Khaṭīb yang di dalam negeri Langgien*
> *ia mengambil daripada Shaykh Muḥammad 'Alī*
> *ia mengambil daripada Shaykh Muḥammad As'ad*
> *ia mengambil daripada Shaykh Muḥammad Sa'īd*
> *ia mengambil daripada Shaykh Ibrāhīm*
> *ia mengambil daripada Shaykh Muḥammad Ṭāhir*[3]
> *ia*[4] *mengambil daripada Shaykh Mūlā Ibrāhīm*
> *ia mengambil daripada Aḥmad al-Qushāshī*
> *ia mengambil daripada Shaykh Aḥmad Shanāwī*
> *ia mengambil daripada Shaykh Ṣibghatullāh*
> *ia mengambil daripada Shaykh Wajīh al-Dīn*
> *ia mengambil daripada Muḥammad al-Gawth*
> *ia mengambil daripada Shaykh Ḥuḍūri*[5]
> *ia mengambil daripada Shaykh Hidāyatullāh*
> *ia mengambil daripada Shaykh Qāḍīn*

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[1] The text: *ini yang*.

[2] The text: *dan dan*.

[3] The text: *Ẓāhir*.

[4] The text: *ia daripada*, but the word *daripada* was annulled.

[5] The text: *Ḥuṣūrī*.

ia mengambil daripada Shaykh ʻAbdullāh Shaṭṭārī
ia mengambil daripada Muḥammad ʻĀrif
ia mengambil daripada Shaykh Muḥammad ʻĀshiq
ia mengambil daripada Shaykh Khudāqilī
ia mengambil daripada Shaykh Abī al-Ḥasan
ia mengambil daripada Shaykh Abī al-Muẓẓaffar
ia mengambil daripada Shaykh Abī Yazīd
ia mengambil daripada Shaykh Muḥammad Magribī
ia mengambil daripada Shaykh Abī Yazīd
ia mengambil daripada Shaykh Imām Jaʻfar
ia mengambil daripada Imām Muḥammad Bāqir
ia mengambil daripada Shaykh Imām Zayn al-Ābidīn
ia mengambil daripada Ḥusayn
ia mengambil daripada Sayyidinā raḍiyallāhu ʻanhu
ia mengambil daripada Nabi Muḥammad ṣallallāhu ʻalayh wa-sallama wa-al-ṣalāt wa-al-salām segala rahmat atas Nabi yang akhir zaman.

6. Silsilah of Muḥammad ʻAlī Rabawī

The following silsilah is found in MS 203/TS/15/YPAH/2005 from the Ali Hasjmy Collection (Fathurahman and Holil 2007:158-159). Since limited images were available from this manuscript when this study was conducted, certain details concerning it require further examination.

Thus far, there is no information regarding the identity of Muḥammad ʻAlī Rabawī. However, he was presumably of Aceh origin and lived from the mid- to late nineteenth century. He was initiated into the Shaṭṭārīyah order by his *murshid*, Shaykh ʻAbd al-Ḥamīd ʻAdani(?), who, in turn, was initiated by Zayn al-ʻĀbidīn, who was initiated by Muḥammad Saʻīd Ṭāhir al-Madanī, who was initiated by Muḥammad Saʻīd Ṭāhir, who was initiated by Ibrāhim Ṭāhir, who was initiated by Muḥammad Ṭāhir, who was initiated by al-Mullā Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, who was initiated by Aḥmad al-Qushāshī.

Description of MS 203/TS/15/YPAH/2005

All the manuscripts from this collection have been described in Fathurahman and Holil (2007). This one, written in Arabic with several Malay commentaries, is 16.5 × 11.5 cm and includes 240 pages, 11-13 lines per page, European paper, no binding, and black ink with red rubrics.

This manuscript consists of the following texts:

(a) *Ḥizb al-baḥr lil Imām al-Shādhilī*: a *ḥizb* attributed to Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādilī (1196-1258), written in Arabic with interlinear translation in

Malay. See the previous detailed description of this text for MS 07_00757 containing the silsilah of Ḥasan and ʻAlī. A Malay introduction on the first page urges one to perform two *rakāʻah* prayers and a reading of *sūrat al-fātiḥah* before reciting this *baḥr*. It reads as follows: *…adapun tatkala hendak mengamalkan dua ini, hendaklah sembahyang dua rakaat uṣallī rakʻatayni lillāhi taʻālá allāhu akbar, maka itu maka dibaca fatihah akan empunya dua ini, artinya Shaykh Shādhilī, sesudah itu hadarahkan kiranya kita…*;

(b) an Arabic text regarding the Islamic inheritance law (*farāʼiḍ*);

(c) *Ṭarīqat al-sādah al-Shaṭṭārīyah*: practical guidelines of the *bayʻah* ritual required to enter the Shaṭṭārīyah order, including Muḥammad ʻAlī Rabāwī's Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah, based on al-Qushāshī's *al-Simṭ al-majīd*.

The following is the complete Arabic text of the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of Muḥammad ʻAlī Rabawī:

Alhamd lillāh talaqqana al-faqīr ilallāh taʻālá Muḥammad ʻAlī Rabawī ʻan al-Shaykh
ʻAbd al-Ḥamīd ʻAdanī
ʻan al-faqīr ilallāh taʻālá al-Shaykh Zayn al-ʻĀbidīn
ʻan al-Shaykh Muḥammad Saʻīd Ṭāhir al-Madanī
ʻan wālidihi al-Shaykh Muḥammad Saʻīd Ṭāhir
ʻan wālidihi al-Shaykh Ibrāhim Ṭāhir
ʻan wālidihi al-Shaykh Muḥammad Ṭāhir
ʻan wālidihi al-Mullā Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī
ʻan al-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Qushāshī
ʻan al-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Shināwī
ʻan al-Sayyid Ṣibghatullāh
ʻan Sayyidinā Wajīh al-Dīn al-ʻAlawī
ʻan al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Ghawth
ʻan al-Shaykh Ḥāji Huḍūri
ʻan al-Shaykh Hadīyatullāh Sarmasta
ʻan al-Shaykh Qāḍīn al-Shaṭṭārī
ʻan al-Shaykh ʻAbdullāh Shaṭṭārī
ʻan al-Shaykh Muḥammad ʻĀrif
min al-Shaykh Muḥammad ʻĀqil
ʻan al-Shaykh Khudāqulī
ʻan al-Shaykh Abī al-Ḥasan al-Khirqānī
ʻan al-Shaykh Abī al-Muẓaffar Turki al-Ṭūsī
ʻan al-Shaykh Yazīd al-ʻIshqī
ʻan al-Shaykh Muḥammad al-Maghribī

'an al-Shaykh Abī[1] *Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī*
'an al-Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq
'an al-Imām Muḥammad al-Bāqir
'an al-Imām Zayn al-Ābidīn
'an al-Imām Ḥusayn al-shahīd
'an sayyidina 'Alī raḍiyallāhu anhu
'an al-Nabī ṣallallāhu 'alayh wa-sallam
min al-Simṭ al-majīd lil-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Qushāshī qaddasallāh sirrahu

7. Silsilah of Sayf Qamar

The following is a Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah attributed to an allegedly Acehnese student, Sayf Qamar, who was probably a contemporary of Muḥammad 'Alī Rabawī.

He was initiated into the order by his *murshid*, Muḥammad Marḥabān b. Ḥāji Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, who, in turn, was initiated by Shaykh Budairi in Medina, who was initiated by Muḥammad As'ad, who was initiated by his father, Muḥammad Sa'īd Ṭāhir, who was initiated by Ibrāhim Ṭāhir, who was initiated by Muḥammad Ṭāhir, who was initiated by Mullā Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, Aḥmad al-Qushāshī.

This silsilah is also found in another manuscript from the Ali Hasjmy Collection: MS 51A/TS/19/YPAH/2005 (Fathurahman and Holil 2007:162).

Description of 51A/TS/19/YPAH/2005

This manuscript, written in Arabic, Malay, and Acehnese, is 16.2 × 10.5 cm and includes 195 folios, 9-17 lines per page, local lined paper, new binding, and black ink with red rubrics.

This manuscript consists of the following texts:

(a) an explanation of the phrase *lā ilāha illallāh* and the attributes of God;
(b) the meaning of the five pillars of Islam (*arkān al-Islām*) and several prayers;
(c) Sayf Qamar's Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah: the opening lines of the text are as follows: *…inilah silsilah tarekat penghulu kita Shaykh Qāḍī Shaṭṭārī telah mengambil akan talqin dan ijazah dan baiat, yaitu Sayf Qamar….*

The following is the complete text of the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of Sayf Qamar:

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[1] The text: *Abī Abī*.

***Inilah** silsilah tarekat penghulu kita Shaykh Qāḍī Shaṭṭārī*
telah mengambil akan talqin dan ijazah dan baiat, yaitu Sayf Qamar
daripada Shaykhunā wa-Mawlānā Muḥammad Marḥabān b. Ḥāji Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ
dan ia mengambil daripada gurunya Shaykh Budairi negeri Madinah yang munawarah
dan ia mengambil daripada Shaykh Muḥammad As'ad
dan ia mengambil daripada bapaknya, Shaykh Muḥammad Sa'īd Ṭāhir
dan ia mengambil daripada Shaykh Ibrāhim Ṭāhir
dan ia mengambil daripada Shaykh Muḥammad Ṭāhir
dan dia mengambil daripada Shaykh Mullā Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī
dan dia mengambil daripada Shaykh yang kāmil mukammil lagi 'ārif billāh Shaykh Aḥmad al-Qushāshī
dan dia mengambil daripada Shaykh Aḥmad al-Shināwī
dan dia mengambil daripada Sayyid Ṣibghatullāh
dan dia mengambil daripada Sayyid Wajīh al-Dīn 'Alawī
dan dia mengambil daripada Sayyidinā Muḥammad al-Ghawth
dan dia mengambil daripada Ḥāji Huḍūri
dan dia mengambil daripada Shaykh Hadīyatullāh Sarmasti
dan dia mengambil daripada gurunya Shaykh Qāḍi Shaṭṭārī
dan dia mengambil daripada Shaykh 'Abdullāh Shaṭṭārī
dan dia mengambil daripada Shaykh Muḥammad 'Ārif
dan dia mengambil daripada Shaykh 'Abdullāh
dan dia mengambil daripada Shaykh Khadāqalī
dan dia mengambil daripada Shaykh Abū al-Ḥasan Khirqānī
dan dia mengambil daripada Shaykh Abī al-Muẓaffar Turki al-Ṭūsī
dan dia mengambil daripada Shaykh Yazīd al-'Ishqi
dan dia mengambil daripada Shaykh Muḥammad al-Maghribī
dan dia mengambil daripada Shaykh Abī Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī
dan ia mengambil daripada daripada Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq
dan dia mengambil daripada bapaknya, Imām Muḥammad Bāqir
dan dia mengambil daripada bapaknya, Imām Zayn al-'Ābidīn
dan dia mengambil daripada bapaknya, Imām Sayyidinā Ḥusayn syahid
dan dia mengambil daripada bapaknya, amīr al-mu'minīn Sayyidinā 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib
dan dia mengambil daripada Sayyidinā Rasulullāh ṣallallāhu 'alayh wa-sallama
dan dia mengambil daripada Sayyidinā Jabrā'il 'alayhissalām
dan dia menerima adab daripada rabb al-'izzati jalla jalāluhu
itulah perhubungan silsilah tarekat sādātinā al-a'lām wa-qudwati awliyā' Allāh al-kirām raḍiyallāh 'anhu ta'ālá 'anhum, wa-amadanā bi-madadihim wa-nafa'anaā bi-barakātihim wa-nafaḥātihim wa-asrārihim, āmīn, walḥamdu lillāhi rabb al-'ālamīn ḥāmidan wa-muṣalliyan wa-musallaman 'alá jamī'I al-anbiyā'I wa-al-mursalīn, wal–ḥamdu lillāhi rabb al-'ālamīn, āmīn.

8. Silsilah of Leubee Aloeh, Kayee Kunyet

The following silsilah belongs to an Acehnese scholar, Leubee Aloeh, Kayee Kunyet, whose identity is not yet known.

He is said to have received his *ijāzah* in the Shaṭṭārīyah Sufi order from Muḥammad Rābidīn al-Jāwī Juwānī b. Muṣaynif (m-ṣ-y-n-f), who, in turn, was initiated by Haji Suryānī b. Isma'īl al-Jāwī Fāṭimī, who was initiated by Yūsuf b. Isma'īl al-Fadriyā[1] Glumpang Minyeuk, who was initiated by al-Nājīdi, who was initiated by al-Sa'īd b. al-Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Ṭāhir al-Madanī, who was initiated by al-Shaykh wālidihi, Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir, who was initiated by al-Mulā Ibrāhīm, who was initiated by Aḥmad al-Qushāshī.

Description of MS 07_03150

This manuscript is 16 × 11 cm and includes 11 folios, 8-20 lines per page, European paper, no binding, and black ink with red rubrics. One of the texts mentions several local names of Acehnese Shaṭṭārīyah followers whose identities are obscure and can only be unveiled by further specific research.

This manuscript consists of the following texts:

(a) *Qaṣīdat al-munfarijah*: a text written by Abū al-Faḍl Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, also known as al-Nahwī al-Tawzarī or Sidi b. al-Nahwī. It contains a Malay commentary at the end of the text that reads as follows: *…yakni kamu katakan nazam ishtadda pada awalnya hingga kepada akhirnya….* This is the third copy of this text preserved in the Aceh Museum Collection. See previous descriptions of both MS 07_00966 (silsilah of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf) and 07_00757 (silsilah of Ḥasan and 'Alī) (ff. 1r-4v);

(b) *Ṭarīqat al-sādah al-Shaṭṭārīyah*: practical guidelines of the *bay'ah* ritual required to enter the Shaṭṭārīyah order, including the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of Leubee Aloeh, Kayee Kunyet. This silsilah, similar to previous silsilahs, refers to that which is found in al-Qushāshī's *al-Simṭ al-majīd* (ff. 4v-7r);

(c) *Risalah yang sebenar-benarnya jalan makrifat Allah*: a Malay Sufi text regarding the interpretation of the doctrine of the unity of being (*waḥdat al-wujūd*) and the seven grades (*martabat tujuh*). It contains rich allegories of the nature of seeds, leaves, and trees. The introduction explains that

[1] Probably refers to Pidir / Pidie?

this teaching was delivered by Sayyid Sayf Allāh to Shaykh ʻAbd al-Jamāl, who taught it to Lebai ʻAbd al-Raḥīm, who taught it to Khalifah Muallim Punduk, who taught it to Lebai Tara. The author considers this Sufi teaching to be the same as that in ''Abd al-Raʼūf's *ʻUmdat al-muḥtājīn* (ff. 8v-11r);

(d) *Bab ini syarah jalil*: the first page of a missing text. A part of the text reads as follows: *…faidah menyata oleh Yāfiʻī mengambil daripada Shādhilī bahwasanya setengah daripada yang menolong atas menolak waswas syetan…*(f. 12v).

The following is the complete Arabic text of the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of Leubee Aloeh, Kayee Kunyet:

Bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm, al-ḥamd lillāh rabb al-ʻālamīn
talaqqana akhī al-waladī(?) al-faqīr ilá rabbihi al-Qādir Leubee Aloeh, Kayee Kunyet
ʻan al-faqīr Muḥammad Rābidīn al-Jāwī Juwānī b. Muṣaynif (m-ṣ-y-n-f)
ʻan al-faqīr Haji Suryānī b. Ismaʻīl al-Jāwī Fāṭimī
ʻan al-Shaykh Yūsuf b. Ismaʻīl al-Fadriyā[1] *Glumpang Minyeuk, thumma a-lt-r-y ʻan al-Shaykh al-Nājīdi*
ʻan al-Shaykh al-Saʻīd b. al-Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Ṭāhir al-Madanī
ʻan al-Shaykh wālidihi
ʻan al-Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir
ʻan al-Shaykh al-Mulā Ibrāhīm
ʻan al-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Qushāshī
ʻan al-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Shināwī
ʻan al-Sayyid Ṣibghatullāh
ʻan al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Ghawth
ʻan al-Shaykh Hidāyatullāh Sarmasti
ʻan al-Shaykh Qāḍī al-Shaṭṭārī
ʻan al-Shaykh ʻAbdull ahh al-Shaṭṭārī
ʻan al-Shaykh Muḥammad ʻĀrif
ʻan al-Shaykh Muḥammad ʻĀshiq
ʻan al-Shaykh Ḥudāqilī
ʻan al-Shaykh Abī al-Ḥasan Khirqanī
ʻan al-Shaykh Abī al-Muẓaffar Turk al-Ṭūsī
ʻan al-Shaykh Yazīd al-ʻIshqī
ʻan al-Shaykh Muḥammad al-Maghribī
ʻan al-Shaykh Abī Yazīd al-Busṭāmī
ʻan al al-Imām[2] *al-Jaʻfar Ṣādiq*

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[1] Probably refers to Pidir / Pidie?

[2] The text: *al-Īmām*.

‘an al al-Imām Muḥammad Bāqir
‘an al al-Imām Zayn al-‘Ābidīn
‘an al al-Imām Ḥusayn[1] al-shāhid
‘an Sayyidinā ‘Ālī Abī Ṭālib raḍiyallāh ‘anhu
‘an al-nabī ṣallallāh ‘alayh wa-sallama
Intahā min al-Simṭ al-majīd lil-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Qushāshī qaddasallāh sirrah wa-nafa‘anā bi-‘ulūmihi, tammat amīn.

9. Silsilah of ‘Abd al-Wahhāb and Ḥamīdah binti Sulaymān

The silsilahs of both ‘Abd al-Wahhāb and Ḥamīdah binti Sulaymān are found in the same manuscript, i.e., MS 16767 from the British Library Collection (ff. 100v-101v). This is one of 17 Aceh-origin manuscripts acquired by the British Library in 2004 directly from Arthur Probsthain, a family firm of Oriental booksellers established in London in 1902.[2]

‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ (d. 1894) was the *murshid* who initiated Ḥamīdah binti Sulaymān into the Shaṭṭārīyah order. He received his *ijāzah* from Muḥammad As‘ad Ṭāhir, who, in turn, was initiated by Muḥammad Sa’īd Ṭāhir, who was initiated by Manṣūr Budairī, who was initiated by Muḥammad As’ad Ṭāhir, who was initiated by Muḥammad Sa’īd Ṭāhir, who was initiated by Ibrāhim Ṭāhir, who was initiated by Muḥammad Ṭāhir, who was initiated by Mulā Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, who was initiated by Aḥmad al-Qushāshī.

‘Abd al-Wahhāb was one of the most significant figures of the Shaṭṭārīyah Sufi order from Zawiyah[3] Tanoh Abee, Seulimum. The golden age of the Zawiyah was during this era, in which several manuscripts were collected, some of which were copied by him. He was a central figure from whom certain Acehnese students received their *ijāzah* in the Shaṭṭārīyah order.

The Zawiyah preserved a remarkable number of Islamic manuscripts that originated from the seventeenth century onward.[4] In addition, these complexes became a significant center of the Shaṭṭārīyah order in Aceh, which

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[1] The text: *Ḥasan*.

[2] This small ollection is being catalogued in a collaborative project by Annabel Teh Gallop and me.

[3] The term ‘zawiyah’ refers to a traditional Islamic education institution in Aceh, like pesantren in Java.

[4] The most recent catalogue of this collection, including 280 manuscripts, or 367 titles, has been published; see Fathurahman et al. 2010.

continued until the time of Teungku Muḥammad Daḥlān al-Fairusī al-Baghdadī (1943-2006), the ninth-generation leader of the Zawiyah. However, according to several manuscripts, the lineage of the order was not developed through ʻAbd al-Raʼūf, but through Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī.

Zawiyah Tanoh Abee is an education institution developed by the al-Baghdadī family. The first successor of al-Fairusī al-Baghdadī was Shaykh Nayān al-Fairusī al-Baghdadī, followed by his son ʻAbd al-Ḥafīẓ al-Baghdadī, his son ʻAbd al-Rahim Ḥafīẓ al-Baghdadī, his son Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Baghdadī (d. 1855), his son ʻAbd al-Wahhāb al-Baghdādī (d. 1894), his son Muḥammad Saʻīd al-Baghdādī, his son Muḥammad ʻAlī al-Baghdādī (1861-1969), and his son Muḥammad Daḥlān al-Fairusī al-Baghdādī. Muḥammad Daḥlān passed away in 2006, and since he never explicitly chose his successor, the leadership in the Zawiyah was unclear. However, the family passed the responsibility onto his eldest son, Abdul Hafiz.

Description of MS 16767

This manuscript is 17 × 12 cm and includes 105 folios, 11 lines per page, various European laid papers partially sewn together, and black ink with red rubrics. It is in poor condition and contains many wormholes. The colophon of one of the texts (f. 97v), *Masāʼil al-muhtadī*, presumably belonging to Bābā Dāwūd, indicates a date of composition during the reign of Sultan Maḥmūd Shāh, which probably refers to Sultan Maḥmūd I Shāh (r. 1760-1781). Meanwhile, another colophon (f. 101v) of ʻAbd al-Wahhāb's silsilah includes Muḥarram 1288 (ca. March 1871).

However, this manuscript was not copied after ʻAbd al-Wahhāb died in 1894, because the guidelines for *tawaṣṣul* on f. 101r indicate the late ʻAbd al-Wahhāb (*rūḥ shaykhinā* ʻAbd al-Wahhāb) as the person to whom a prayer should be addressed.

This manuscript consists of the following texts:

(a) a lengthy Arabic explanation of *waḥdat al-wujud* and *martabat tujuh*: this is organized into several chapters focusing on the self-manifestation of God (*tajallī*). However, the text is incomplete (lacking a beginning and an end) (ff. 1r-42v). The surviving chapters include the sixth, which reads as follows: …*al-dawr al-sādith fī bayān tajallī ʻalá ʻālam al-shahādah*…. In addition, the twelfth reads as follows: …*al-dawr al-thānī ʻashar fī bayān tajallī ʻalá al-qadāʼ wa-al-qadar*…. Each chapter concludes with a *dāʼirah*

(diagram) related to the relevant issue (f. 2v, f. 10r, f. 12r, f. 14r, f. 19v, f. 22v, 31r, dna 37r). Several marginal words are written in Malay;

(b) *al-Ḥaqīqah al-muwāfaqah li al-sharī'ah*: a text written by Muḥammad b. al-Shaykh Faḍl Allāh (al-Hindī al-Burhānfūrī) (d. 1619). This is a commentary on *al-Tuḥfah al-mursalah* on the doctrine of *martabat tujuh* written by the same author. The text is incomplete (lacking an end) and written in Arabic (ff. 43v-56v);

(c) A compilation of various prayers in Arabic, with a commentary written in Malay, followed by several *sūrah*s of *juz'amma* (ff. 56r-80r);

(d) *Masā'il al-muhtadī li-ikhwān al-mubtadī*: a Malay text on the basic teachings of theology (*tawḥīd*) and Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) written in question-and-answer format (ff. 81r-97v). Some scholars (Hasjmy 1983: 382-384; see also Özay 2011b:45) attribute this work to Bābā Dāwūd al-Jāwī al-Rumi, a disciple of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf . However, the text itself does not provide information regarding its authorship. It is incomplete (lacking a beginning), and the colophon reads as follows: …*tammat al-kitab al-musammá <bi-masa'il> al-mubtadi fī zamān al-sulṭān* (*Maḥmud?*) *Shāh berdaulat ẓillullāh fī al-'ālam, wa-kātibuhu Lebai* (difficult to read). This probably refers to the reign of Sultan Mahmud Shāh, 1760-1781;

(e) A fragment and blank folio (ff. 98v-99r);

(f) Ḥamīdah binti Sulaymān's Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah: this is followed by an Arabic prayer written in the reverse up-down direction (100v-r);

(g) Teungku 'Abd al-Wahhāb's Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah: the colophon reads as follows: …*wa-qad tammat al-silsilah wa-al-isnād fī Muḥarram sanat 1288 alf*… (101v);

(g) Guidelines for *dhikr* and, more specifically, *tawaṣṣul* for the late 'Abd al-Wahhāb and all those belonging to the Shaṭṭārīyah order (101r-105v). In addition, a diagram of the attributes of God is found on f. 102r.

The following is the complete text of the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of 'Abd al-Wahhāb:

> ***Telah*** *mengambil talqin zikir tarekat Shaṭṭārīyah*
> *oleh Tengku Shaykh* ***'Abd al-Wahhāb*** *anak Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ*
> *ia mengambil daripada Shaykh* ***Muḥammad As'ad*** *Ṭāhir*
> *ia daripada Shaykh* ***Muḥammad Sa'īd*** *Ṭāhir*
> *daripada Shaykh* ***Manṣūr Budairī***
> *daripada Shaykh* ***Muḥammad As'ad*** *Ṭāhir*

daripada bapaknya, ***Muḥammad Sa'īd*** *Ṭāhir*
dan daripada niniknya Shaykh ***Ibrāhim*** *Ṭāhir*
daripada bapaknya, Shaykh ***Muḥammad*** *Ṭāhir*
daripada bapaknya, Mulā Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī
daripada Shaykh ***Aḥmad al-Qushāshī***
daripada Shaykh ***Aḥmad al-Shināwī***
daripada Sayyid ***Ṣibghatullāh***
daripada Sayyidinā ***Wajīh al-Dīn*** *al-'Alawī*
daripada Sayyid ***Muḥammad al-Ghawth***
daripada Ḥāji ***Huḍūri***
daripada Shaykh ***Hidāyatullāh*** *Sarmasti*
daripada Shaykh ***Qāḍi al-Shaṭṭārī***
daripada Shaykh ***'Abdullāh*** *al-Shaṭṭārī*
daripada Shaykh ***Muḥammad 'Ārif***
daripada Shaykh ***Muḥammad 'Āshiq***
daripada Shaykh ***Khadāqalī***
daripada Shaykh ***Abī al-Ḥasan al-Khirqanī***
daripada Shaykh ***Abī al-Muẓaffar Turki al-Tūsī***
daripada Shaykh ***Yazīd al-'Ishqi***
daripada Shaykh ***Muḥammad al-Maghribī***
daripada Shaykh ***Abī Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī***
daripada Imām ***Ja'far al-Ṣādiq***
daripada Imām ***Muḥammad al-Bāqir***
daripada Imām ***Zayn al-'Ābidīn***
daripada bapaknya, Imām ***Ḥusayn*** *yang syahid*
daripada bapaknya, Sayyidinā ***'Ālī*** *anak Abū Ṭālib raḍiyallāh 'anhu*
daripada nabi kita ***Muḥammad*** *ṣallallāhu 'alayh wa-'ala alihi wa-sahbihi wa-sallama*
daripada Sayyidinā Jabrā'īl 'alayh al-salām
daripada Allāh rabb al-'ālamīn
wa-qad tammat al-silsilah wa-al-isnād fī Muḥarram sanat alf 1288

The following is the complete text of the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of Ḥamīdah binti Sulaymān:

Telah *mengambil talqin tarekat Shaṭṭārīyah oleh Ḥamīdah binti anak Sulaymān Lam f-l-s*
daripada Shaykh ***'Abd al-Wahhāb*** *anak* ***Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ*** *anak 'Abd al-Raḥīm*
daripada Shaykh[1] *Muḥammad As'ad Ṭāhir*
daripada ***Muḥammad Sa'īd Ṭāhir***

[1] The words *daripada Shaykh* as well as the two following *daripada* were added later by the same author.

daripada Manṣūr Budairī
<*daripada*> ***Muḥammad As'ad Ṭāhir***
<*daripada*> *Muḥammad Sa'īd Ṭāhir*
<*daripada*> ***Ibrāhim Ṭāhir***
<*daripada*> *Muḥammad Ṭāhir*
<*daripada*> ***al-Mulā Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī***
<*daripada*> *Aḥmad al-Qushāshī*
<*daripada*> ***Aḥmad al-Shināwī***
<*daripada*> ***Ṣibghatullāh***
<*daripada*> ***Wajīh al-Dīn al-'Alawī***
<*daripada*> *Muḥammad al-Ghawth*
<*daripada*> ***Ḥāji Huḍūri***
<*daripada*> *Hidāyatullāh Sarmasti*
<*daripada*> ***Qāḍi al-Shaṭṭārī***
<*daripada*> *'Abdullāh al-Shaṭṭārī*
<*daripada*> ***Muḥammad 'Ārif***
<*daripada*> *Muḥammad 'Āshiq*
<*daripada*> ***Khadāqalī***
<*daripada*> *Abī al-Ḥasan al-Khirqanī*
<*daripada*> ***Abū al-Muzaffar Turki al-Tūsī***
<*daripada*> *Yazīd al-'Ishqi*
<*daripada*> ***Muḥammad al-Maghribī***
<*daripada*> *Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī*
<*daripada*> ***Ja'far al-Ṣādiq***
<*daripada*> ***Muḥammad al-Bāqir***
<*daripada*> ***Zayn al-'Ābidīn***
<*daripada*> ***Ḥusayn***
<*daripada*> ***'Ālī*** *b.* ***Abī Ṭālib***
<*daripada*> ***Muḥammad*** *ṣallallāhu 'alayh wa-'ala alihi wa-sahbihi wa-sallama*
<*daripada*> *Jabrā'īl 'alayh al-salām*
<*daripada*> *Allāh khāliqu kulli shay'in wa-rabbuhu wa-mālikuhu rabbunā wa-ḥayyunā rabb al-'ālamīn*

10. Silsilah of Muḥammad Abū 'Abd al-Muṭallib

There is no information regarding the life and identity of Muḥammad Abū 'Abd al-Muṭallib. However, it is known that he was a student of 'Abd al-Wahhāb of Tanoh Abee. His Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah is found on the last page of MS 212/674/ZD-6/TA/2006 from the Zawiyah Tanoh Abee Collection (Fathurahman et al. 2010, 336). Muḥammad Abū 'Abd al-Muṭallib's murshid is considered to have been 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, who was initiated by Muḥammad As'ad Ṭāhir, who was initiated by Muḥammad

Sa'īd Ṭāhir, who was initiated by Manṣūr Budairī, who was initiated by Muḥammad As'ad Ṭāhir, who was initiated by his father, Muḥammad Sa'īd Ṭāhir, who was initiated by his father, Ibrāhim Ṭāhir, who was initiated by his father, Muḥammad Ṭāhir, who was initiated by his father Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, who received from Aḥmad al-Qushāshī.

Description of MS 212/674/ZD-6/TA/2006

This manuscript is 16.5 x 11 cm and includes 54 pages, 13 lines per page, European paper, black ink with red rubrics, red-lined frame, and illumination both at the head of the first page and the colophon page.

A colophon (p. 49) of Abī 'Abdullāh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Jazūlī's (d. 869/1464 AD) work *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* stated that the work was completed on 13 Jumādá al-ākhir 1284 AH (ca. October 12, 1867).

The ownership note of the manuscript is found on the newly-made cover, which reads as follows: *…Kitab Dalā'il al-khayrāt milik ahli Zawiyah Tanoh Abee, Muḥammad Daḥlān….* Here, Muḥammad Daḥlān refers to Teungku Muḥammad Daḥlān al-Fairusī al-Baghdadī (1943-2006), the ninth generation leader of the *zawiyah*.

This manuscript consists of the following texts:

(a) Fragmented texts and notes regarding various issues, including Islamic mantras, *wafaq*, and guidelines for praying specifically for *Dalā'il al-khayrāt*'s author (pp. 1-5);

(b) *Dalā'il al-khayrāt*: a collection of prayers for the Prophet Muḥammad, written by the Moroccan Sufi Abī 'Abdullāh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Jazūlī's (d. ca. 869/1464 AD) and divided into sections for daily recitation. This work is very popular not only in Aceh and other areas of Indonesia but also in the Muslim world as a whole. The colophon reads as follows: *…tamat Dalā'il al-khayrāt pada tiga belas hari bulan Jumādá al-ākhir waktu zuhur sama setengah Zawiyah Tanoh Abee, sanat al-zāy 1284, ṣallallāhu 'alá Muḥammad wa-ālihi wa-ṣaḥbihi wa-sallama…*; Arabic (pp. 6-54);

(c) a set of prayers in Arabic (pp. 55-58);

(d) Muḥammad Abū 'Abd al-Muṭallib's Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah; Malay (p. 59).

The following is the complete text of the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of Muḥammad Abū 'Abd al-Muṭallib:

Telah mengambil tarekat Shattari ini oleh **Muḥammad**[1]
daripada **'Abd al-Wahhāb**, anak Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ anak 'Abd al-Raḥīm Tanoh Abee,
ia mengambil daripada Shaykh ***Muḥammad As'ad*** *Ṭāhir,*
ia daripada ***Muḥammad Sa'īd*** *Ṭāhir*
daripada Shaykh ***Manṣūr*** *Budairī*
daripada Shaykh ***Muḥammad As'ad*** *Ṭāhir*
daripada bapaknya Shaykh ***Muḥammad Sa'īd*** *Ṭāhir*
daripada niniknya Shaykh ***Ibrāhim*** *Ṭāhir*
daripada bapaknya Shaykh ***Muḥammad Ṭāhir***
daripada bapaknya ***[Maw]lānā Ibrāhīm*** *al-Kūrānī*
daripada Shaykh ***Aḥmad al-Qushāshī***
daripada Shaykh ***Aḥmad*** *al-Shināwī*
daripada Sayyid ***Ṣibghatullāh***
daripada Sayyidinā ***Wajīh al-Dīn*** *al-'Alawī*
dari Sayyid ***Muḥammad al-Ghawth***
daripada Shaykh ***Ḥāji Huḍūri***
daripada Shaykh ***Hidāyatullāh Sarmasti***
daripada Shaykh ***Qāḍi al-Shaṭṭārī***
daripada Shaykh ***'Abdullāh*** *al-Shaṭṭārī*
daripada Shaykh ***Muḥammad 'Ārif***
daripada Shaykh ***Muḥammad 'Āshiq***
daripada Shaykh ***Khadāqalī***
daripada Shaykh ***Abī al-Ḥasan al-Ḥizqanī***
daripada Shaykh ***Abī al-Muzaffar*** *Turki al-Tūsī*
daripada Shaykh ***Yazīd al-'Ishqi***
daripada Shaykh ***Muḥammad al-Maghribī***
daripada Shaykh ***Abī Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī***
daripada Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq
daripada Imām ***Muḥammad al-Bāqir***
daripada Imām ***Zayn al-'Ābidīn***
daripada Imām ***Ḥusayn*** *Shahīd*
daripada penghulu kita ***Sayyidinā 'Alī****…*
(Although the text ends here, the silsilah names the Prophet afterward).

11. Silsilah of Ḥasan and 'Alī

The following is the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of Ḥasan and 'Alī, students of 'Abd al-Wahhāb of Tanoh Abee. Although some evidence indicates that Ḥasan

[1] As indicated by a note on the upper-left corner of the page, *…Muḥammad anak Abū 'Abd al-Muṭallib anak Lebai Suku anak Mu'allim k-y-k-y-ŋ anak s-k-h anak Khatib Sumayr anak kasih* (?).

was initiated by ʻAlī, there is no information regarding their lives and identities.

Unlike the previous silsilah, this one states that Shaykh ʻAbd al-Wahhāb received his *ijāzah* directly from Muḥammad Asʻad b. Muḥammad Saʼīd Ṭāhir al-Madanī (without mentioning Muḥammad Saʼīd Ṭāhir and Manṣūr Budairī), who, in turn, was initiated by Ibrāhīm Ṭāhir, who was initiated by Muḥammad Ṭāhir, who was initiated by al-Mullā Ibrāhīm (al-Kūrānī), who was initiated by Aḥmad al-Qushāshī.

This silsilah is found on f. 59r of MS 07_00757 from the Aceh Museum Collection.

Description of MS 07_00757

This manuscript is 16 × 11 cm and includes 137 folios, 10 lines per page, European paper, a watermark with three half moons, no binding, and black ink with red rubrics. This work probably belonged to *al-faqīr* Ḥasan, whose name is found in the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah on f. 49r. The ownership note (written in pencil) is on f. 110v, suggesting that it was added by a later owner. It reads as follows: *…yang empunya ini kitab T*(*engku?*) *Ibrahim minamati(?), yang empunya ini kitab T*(*engku?*) *Puteh minamati adanya….*

This manuscript consists of the following texts:

(a) a compilation of *khuṭbah* (sermon) texts written in Arabic, especially for the *ʻid al-fiṭr* and *ʻid al-aḍhá* events (ff. 2v-24v);

(b) *Risālah fī al-tajwīd*: an Arabic text on the rules governing pronunciation during recitation of the Quran, with marginalia on numerous pages (ff. 25r-38r);

(c) *Bāb al-istiʻādah al-mukhtār li-jamīʻi al-Qurān min ḥaithu al-riwāyah*: an Arabic text containing the Prophet's sayings regarding the reading the Quran, followed by a sub-chapter on *makhārij al-ḥurūf* (the emission points of the Arabic letters) and a Malay explanation of *imalāh* (pronouncing *fatḥah*, similar to *kasrah* in Arabic) according to Imām Hafṣ's method of recitation (ff. 39v-46r);

(d) guidelines for *bayʻah* and *tawaṣṣul*, followed by a Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of Ḥasan and ʻAlī: the silsilah is considered to refer to that in al-Qushāshī's *al-Simṭ al-majīd* (ff. 47v-52r);

(e) a set of prayers in Arabic, followed by a closing commentary in Malay that includes guidelines to correctly perform the *dhikr* according to the *murshid*'s direction (ff. 53v-59r);
(f) *al-Istighfār lil-Quṭb Abī Madyan Shu'ayb*: guidelines written in verse for the recitation of *istighfār* (the act of seeking forgiveness from God), attributed to Shaykh Abī Madyan Shu'ayb. This is followed by a prayer in Arabic related to seeking forgiveness for reading the Quran without proper pronunciation (ff. 60v-72r);
(g) *Qaṣīdat al-istighfār*: a verse text on the *istighfār* (ff. 73v-r);
(h) *Qaṣīdat al-munfarijah* (The poem of relief): this Arabic poem was usually recited against oppressors and was composed by the Algerian Sufi master Abū al-Faḍl Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, known as al-Nahwī al-Tawzarī or Sidi b. al-Nahwī. For another copy of this text, see MS 07_00966 from the Aceh Museum Collection in the previous section (ff. 74v-76v);
(i) *Qaṣīdat la'bat al-awlād*, *Qaṣīdat yā ṣaḥīḥ al-fu'ād qalbī jarīḥ*, and other *qaṣīdah*: these texts, written in Arabic, focus on various issues concerning ethics according to Islamic norms (ff. 76r-82r);
(j) *Ḥizb al-baḥr lil Imām al-Shādhilī*: a *ḥizb* credited with great supernatural power (a litany used for worshipping God), attributed to Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādilī (1196-1258). It is preceded by an introduction regarding the advantages of reciting the prayer when crossing an ocean or sea in order to protect oneself from harm (ff. 83v-92r);
(k) *Sharḥ ḥizb al-baḥr*; guidelines for *tawaṣṣul*; various prayers, including a prayer of *'aqīqah* (sacrificing an animal because of the birth of a newborn); and a prayer attributed to Muḥammad Sanūsī with a Malay explanation of the advantages reciting it for protection. A part of the introduction reads as follows (f. 106v): *…barangsiapa membaca doa ini niscaya tiada mengena akan dia oleh panah dan tiada mengena akan dia oleh pedang dan tiada mencapai akan dia daripada seterunya oleh kejahatannya…* (ff. 92r-107r);
(l) *Ṣifat al-nabī*: an Arabic text that presents certain characteristics of the Prophet, as told by al-Imām 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (ff. 108v-111r);
(m) *Talqīn al-mayyit*: a prayer to instruct the deceased at the graveside after burial (ff. 112v-113r);

(n) various prayers, including a verse prayer, that are suggested to be read every day and night: *ayat tujuh* (seven verses), *duʻā sharr khubād*, *duʻā rīḥ al-aḥmar,* and *duʻā al-ḥirs*, with some commentary in Malay (ff. 114r-126r);
(o) *Sūrat Yāsīn*: the 36th chapter of the Quran (ff. 127v-132r);
(p) *ʻAzīmat li al-sāriq*: an amulet for protecting oneself from theft. It is written in Arabic with commentary in Malay (ff. 133v-137v).

The following is the complete text of the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of Ḥasan and ʻAlī:

Talaqqana al-faqīr ilallāh taʻālá Ḥasan
ʻan Shaykh ʻAlī
Talaqqanā ijāzah ʻan Shaykhinā wa-Mawlānā ʻAbd al-Wahhāb
ʻan al-Shaykh Muḥammad Asʻad b. al-Shaykh Muḥammad Saʻīd Ṭāhir al-Madanī
ʻan wālidihi wa-ʻan jaddihi al-Shaykh Ibrāhīm Ṭāhir
ʻan wālidihi al-Shaykh Muḥammad Ṭāhir
ʻan wālidihi al-Mullā Ibrāhīm
ʻan al-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Qushāshī
ʻan al-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Shināwī
ʻan al-Sayyid Ṣibghatullāh
ʻan Sayyidinā Wajīh al-Dīn al-ʻAlawī
ʻan al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Ghawth
ʻan al-Shaykh Ḥāji Huḍūri
ʻan al-Shaykh Hadīyatullāh Sarmasta
ʻan al-Shaykh Qāḍi al-Shaṭṭārī
ʻan al-Shaykh ʻAbdullāh al-Shaṭṭārī
ʻan al-Shaykh Muḥammad ʻĀrif
ʻan al-Shaykh Muḥammad ʻĀshiq
ʻan al-Shaykh Khudāqulī
ʻan al-Shaykh Abī al-Ḥasan al-Khirqanī
ʻan al-Shaykh Abī al-Muẓaffar Turki al-Tūsī
ʻan al-Shaykh Yazīd al-ʻIshqī
ʻan al-Shaykh Muḥammad al-Maghribī
ʻan al-Shaykh Abī Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī
ʻan al-Imām Jaʻfar al-Ṣādiq
ʻan al-Imām al-Bāqir
ʻan al-Imām Zayn al-ʻĀbidīn
ʻan al-Imām Ḥusayn al-shāhid
ʻan Sayyidinā ʻĀlī b. Ṭālib raḍiyallāh ʻanhu
ʻan al-nabī ṣallallāhu ʻalayh wa-ʻala alihi wa-sallama
intahā ʻan kitāb al-Simṭ al-majīd lil Shaykh Aḥmad al-Qushāshī qaddasallāhu sirrahu

Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah in Java

This section contains one Sundanese and eight Javanese manuscripts. These manuscripts contain 12 Shaṭṭārīyah silsilahs developed in West and East Java as well as Yogyakarta, all through ʻAbd al-Muḥyī of Pamijahan and then ʻAbd al-Raʼūf's line. The most recent names mentioned in these silsilahs, according to their levels of studentship, are as follows: Kanjeng Ratu Kadospaten (Kadipaten) of Yogyakarta, Kanjeng Ratu Ibu of Cirebon, Kyai Nur Rismad Desa Suci, Kanjeng Raden Ayu Kilen of Yogyakarta, Ratu Raja Fatimah of Cirebon, Kyai Bulqiyah Sidapurna Cirebon, Raden Behi Wigyawinata Caruban Madiun, and Kyai Sohibul b. Kyai Ikraman Wirarangan Kuningan.

Since the early eighteenth century, Karang, Saparwadi (currently known as Pamijahan, West Java), became one of the most central and important locations to the spread of the Shaṭṭārīyah Sufi order to several regions around Java. Led by several of ʻAbd al-Muḥyī Pamijahan's students, the order was spread not only in West Java but also in East Java, Central Java, and Yogyakarta.

Some of the following Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah manuscripts confirm that this order was well known among the court elites in Kraton Cirebon, West Java (Kasepuhan, Kacirebonan), Surakarta, and Yogyakarta.

1. Silsilah of Kanjeng Ratu Kadospaten (Kadipaten) of Ngayogyakarta Adiningrat

From the time of the Javanese kingdoms of Surakarta and Yogyakarta, it is difficult to identify this Kanjeng Ratu Kadospaten (Kadipaten), since there were several generations of wives in the Mataram dynasty who carried such a name. However, the context of this manuscript, which is a part of the Mackenzie Collection in the British Library, may help us narrow our focus to the Yogyakarta court circle.

The majority of Colin Mackenzie's (1753?-1821) Javanese manuscripts appear to be derived from the Yogyakarta court during his stay in Java (1811-1813). They were present during the British conquest of the court by Lieutenant Governor Raffles in June 1812, in which all personal belongings were looted, as were the contents of the kraton treasury (Sp.D. 800,000), the kraton library (more than 150 manuscripts), the secretarial archive, *pusaka*s, *wayang*s, *gamelan*, etc. (P. B. R. Carey 1980:10). Mackenzie's large collection of

manuscripts was then sold to the English East India Company and is now preserved in the British Library (Ricklefs and Voorhoeve 1977:xxvi).

Therefore, the fact that the manuscript containing Kanjeng Ratu Kadipaten's silsilah is from the Mackenzie Collection clearly indicates that she is from Yogyakarta. Indeed, her name is found in the family genealogy of the Yogyakarta Sultanate as one of the most important women in Yogyakarta during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. She was one of the official wives (*garwa padmi*) of Sultan Hamengkubuwana I or Sultan Mangkubumi (r. 1749-1792) and the mother of the Crown Prince who became Sultan Hamengkubuwana II (r. 1792-1810, 1811-1812, and 1826-1828). She was therefore named Ratu Kadipaten on the basis of the term "Kadipaten," which refers to the residence of the Crown Prince (Pangeran Adipati Anom) in south-central Javanese courts.

In addition, Kanjeng Ratu Kadipaten (ca. 1734-ca. October 17, 1803), renamed Ratu Ageng Tegalreja after 1792, was the sister of R. Rongga Prawiradirja I, Bupati Wedana of Madiun (ca. 1760-ca. 1784) and Emban of Pangeran Dipanagara (1793-1803). She played a prominent role in the shaping of Prince Dipanagara until her death in 1803 (P. Carey 2008:760).

In this silsilah, Kanjeng Ratu Kadipaten is mentioned in four lines that date back to the main *murshid* of the Shaṭṭārīyah Sufi order in West Java, Shaykh 'Abd al-Muḥyī. The first line is through Kyai Mufid from Karang Bolong district,[1] who studied with Kyai Mas Muḥammad Yūsuf, who studied with Shaykh Haji Abdullah, who studied with Shaykh 'Abd al-Muḥyī. The second line directly connects her to Karang Saparwadi's *ulama*, Muḥammad Shākir, who studied under Kyai Mas Bagus Muḥammad Muḥyi al-Dīn, who studied under Shaykh Bojong, who studied under Shaykh 'Abd al-Muḥyī. The third line directly connects her through Karang Saparwadi's *ulama*, Kyai Mas Nida Muḥammad, who studied with Shaykh Haji Abdullah, who studied with Shaykh 'Abd al-Muḥyī. The last line connects her with Kyai Nurdaim Muḥammad from Karang (Saparwadi), who studied under Kyai Mas Bagus Muḥammad Muḥyi al-Dīn of Karang Saparwadi, who studied under Kyai Mas Bagus Dalem Bojong of Karang Saparwadi, who studied under Shaykh 'Abd al-Muḥyī.

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[1] An area on the southern coast of Java that lies within the boundaries of the pre-1825 province of Bagelen. See Carey 2008:17.

Karang Saparwadi's *ulama* clearly assumed a significant role in the development of the Shaṭṭārīyah Sufi order among the Javanese elites in Yogyakarta, particularly since the mid-eighteenth century.

Description of MS. Jav. 69

This manuscript, written in Javanese and Arabic, is 26 × 19.5 cm and includes 100 folios, 11 lines per page, Dutch paper, a watermark 'VOC', and black ink with red rubrics. It contains various texts regarding the seven grades (martabat tujuh) Sufi doctrine, Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah, the direction of dhikr, the explanation of shahādah, etc (Ricklefs and Voorhoeve 1977:69).

The Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of Kanjeng Ratu Kadospaten of Ngayogyakarta Adiningrat, which includes the four chains mentioned above, is found on ff. 8v-10v. The first chain is in the middle text, while the remainders are found as marginalia, probably written by the same author.

The following is the complete text of the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of Kanjeng Ratu Kadospaten of Ngayogyakarta Adiningrat:

> *Bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm, utawi ikulah kitabing dalem anyatakaken turunturuné dadalan Shaṭṭārīyah yang tedhak saking Rasulullah ṣallallāhu 'alayhi wasallama maring Sayyidinā 'Alī kang putera Abī Ṭālib raḍiyallāh 'anhu*
> *lan iya iku* ***amuruk iya maring*** *Sayyidinā Ḥusayn al-Shahīd*
> *lan iya iku amuruk iku iya maring Sayyidinā Zayn al-'Abidīn*
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Imām Muḥammad Bāqir*
> *lan iya amuruk iya maring rūḥānīyah Imām Ja'far al-Ṣadīq*
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring rūḥānīyah Sulṭān 'Ārifīn Abī Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī*
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring* ***Shaykh Muḥammad Maghrib***
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh 'Arbī Yazīd al-'Ishqī*
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Quṭub Abū Muẓẓaffar Mawlānā Rumī Ṭūsī*
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Quṭub Abī Ḥasan al-Ḥarqānī*
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring* ***Shaykh Ḥudaqulī Māwuri al-Nahārī***
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Sayyid Muḥammad 'Āshiq*
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Sayyid Muḥammad 'Ārif*
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring* ***Shaykh 'Abdullāh al-Shaṭṭārī***
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Imām Qāḍī al-Shaṭṭārī*
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh Hidāyatullāh Sarmasti*
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh Haji Huḍurī*
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Sayyid Muḥammad Ghawth kang putera Sayyid Khaṭīr al-Dīn*
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Sayyid Wajīh al-Dīn kang bangsa 'Uluwī*
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Sayyid Ṣibghatullāh kang putera Sayyid Rūḥullāh*

lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Sayyidinā Abī Muwāhib ʻAbdullāh ***Aḥmad kang putera ʻAlī kang abangsa*** *ʻAbbās ing Shanāwī nagarane*
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh Aḥmad kang putera Muḥammad ing Madinah nagarane[1] *arane kang masyhur kalawan Shaykh Aḥmad Qushāshī*
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring ***Shaykh ʻAbd al-Raʼūf kang putera ʻAlī kang abangsa*** *Shaykh Hamzah Fansur ing Singkil nagarane*
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring ***Shaykh Haji ʻAbd al-Muḥyī ing*** *Karang desane lan ing Saparwadi padhukuhane*[2]
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring kang putera Shaykh ***Haji Abdullah*** *ing Karang desane lan ing Saparwadi padhukuhane*
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring ***Kyai Mas Muḥammad Yūsuf*** *ing Karang desane lan ing Saparwadi padhukuhane*
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Kyai Mufid Karang Bolong desane lan Roma Astana wong sanake

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[1] There is an annulled sentence following this word: *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring*.

[2] Following Shaykh Haji ʻAbd al-Muhyi's silsilah, there are three others written as marginalia:

(b) *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring kang putera Shaykh Dalem Bojong ing Karang desane lan ing Saparwadi padhukuhane*
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring kang putera Kyai Mas Bagus Muḥammad Muhyi al-Dīn ing Karang desane lan ing Saparwadi padhukuhane
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring kang leuwih doif Muḥammad Shākir ing Karang desane lan ing Saparwadi padhukuhane
lan iya iku angunjuki uninga ing sabab Shaṭṭārīyah dateng Kanjeng Rahatu ing Ngayogyakerta Adiningrat nagarane kang moga angasihan ing Kanjeng Rahatu Allah taala ing dunya lang ing akhirat;

(c) *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring kang putera Shaykh Haji Abdullah ing Karang desane lan ing Saparwadi padhukuhane*
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring kang putera Kyai Mas Nida Muḥammad ing Karang desane lan ing Saparwadi padhukuhane
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Kanjeng Ratu Kadospaten ing Ngayogyakarta Adiningrat nagarane

(d) *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring putera Kyai Emas Bagus Dalem Bojong ing Karang desane lan ing Saparwadi padhukuhane*
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring kang putera Kyai Emas Bagus Muḥammad Muhyi al-Dīn ing Karang desane lan ing Saparwadi padhukuhane
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Kyai Nurdaim Muḥammad ing Karang desane
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Kanjeng Ratu Kadospaten ing Ngayogyakarta Adiningrat nagarane
kang muga-muga angasihi ingya Allah taala ing dunya rawuh ing akhirat pisan.

> *[lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Kanjeng Ratu Kadospaten kang palenggah ing Negara Yogyakarta Adiningrat nagarane, lan ing Sokawati kamajan Pawong sanake]*[1] *kang muga-muga angasihan ing Kanjeng Ratu iku Allah taala ing dunya lan ing akhirat lan muga-muga anyalametena ing Kanjeng Ratu Panjenengane Allah taala ing dunya lan ing akhirat.*

2. Silsilah of Kanjeng Ratu Ibu and ʻAbdullāh b. ʻAbd al-Qahhār, Cirebon-Banten

Another female Shaṭṭārīyah member was Kanjeng Ratu Ibu, referred in the text as *kang ibu kanjeng Sultan Cirebon* from the Cirebon Sultanate. Although her biography has not been clarified thus far, she is considered to have lived between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries since she was a student of the Bantenese scholar ʻAbdullāh b. ʻAbd al-Qahhār, who was alive during the Sultanate of Mawlānā al-Sulṭān Abū al-Naṣr Muḥammad ʻĀrif al-Dīn al-Fatḥ Muḥammad Shifāʼ Zayn al-ʻĀrifīn (r. 1753-1773).

To understand the spiritual link between ʻAbdullāh b. ʻAbd al-Qahhār and Kanjeng Ratu Ibu, *kang ibu kanjeng Sultan Cirebon*, it should be noted that, historically speaking, Banten and Cirebon had a close political relationship since the sixteenth century. The first king of the Sultanate of Banten, Hasanuddin (r. 1552-1570), was a son of the Sultan of Cirebon, Syarif Hidayatullah (r. 1479-1468. Atja 1986). Furthermore, in the 1670s, the last great ruler of Banten, Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa (r. 1651-1683), reasserted his rule over the Cirebon Sultanate (Azra 2004:97).

Although the Banten Sultanate politically declined in the eighteenth century, its intellectual and religious connection with other areas including Cirebon was well established, partly due to the networks of the Sufi teachers, such as ʻAbdullāh b. ʻAbd al-Qahhār, both in his Naqshbandīyah and Shaṭṭārīyah orders. In addition, his name was labeled with al-Jāwī or al-Bantanī in several publications (Berg and Friederich 1873:145), and he authored several works on Sufism, including *Mashāhid al-nāsik fī maqāmat al-sālik* (Kurniawan 2011).

Accordingly, it is easy to understand the spiritual link between ʻAbdullāh b. ʻAbd al-Qahhār and Kanjeng Ratu Ibu in the Cirebon Sultanate, although

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[1] This part is crossed out, probably indicating that it was to be annulled and replaced by a marginalia note that reads as follows: *lan Kyai Mufid iku anyahosi Shaṭṭārīyah ing Kanjeng Rahatu ing kang apelenggeh ing negeri Ngayogyakarta Adiningrat*.

her identity remains obscure. For the present study, it is sufficient to state that the spiritual lineage of ʻAbdullāh b. ʻAbd al-Qahhār with Kanjeng Ratu Ibu indicates the complexity of the Shaṭṭārīyah order's history in Cirebon, since other significant influences also emerged from ʻAbd al-Raʼūf's lineage through his pupil, ʻAbd al-Muḥyī Saparwadi. Moreover, this manuscript suggests that ʻAbdullāh b. ʻAbd al-Qahhār was affiliated not only with the Shaṭṭārīyah but also with the Naqshbandīyah order.

As this silsilah demonstrates, ʻAbdullāh b. ʻAbd al-Qahhār received his *ijāzah* in the Shaṭṭārīyah order directly from a member of the al-Ṭabarī family in Mecca, Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī b. ʻAlī al-Ṭabarī. As Azra notes, the al-Ṭabarī family significantly influenced the scholarly discourse in Haramayn during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (Azra 2004, 25). Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī was a Shaṭṭārīyah student of an Indian scholar, ʻAbd al-Wahhāb ʻAbd al-Ghānī, who was initiated by Ṣāliḥ Khaṭīb, a Medinan Qubsat al-Islām, who was initiated by Aḥmad al-Qushāshī.

Description of MS 211_EPJ005

This manuscript, probably a more contemporary reproduction of an older text, is 21 × 16 cm and includes 26 folios, 11 lines per page, lined modern paper, and black and red ink. It belongs to the Elang Panji Collection in Cirebon[1] and includes the silsilah of ʻAbdullāh b. ʻAbd al-Qahhar (both in Shaṭṭārīyah and Naqshbandīyah), rituals of the orders, and various issues of Islamic Sufi teachings. The opening lines indicate that ʻAbdullāh b. ʻAbd al-Qahhar initiated Kanjeng Ratu Ibu (the mother of one of the rulers of the Cirebon Sultanate) into the Shaṭṭārīyah order: *…anapon sawuse iku maka wus angaturi jangji sarta talqin zikir atas dadalan al-Shaṭṭārī kalawan Naqsabandi, faqir Abdullah pecile Kyai ʻAbd al-Qahhār al-Shāfiʻī al-Shaṭṭārī Naqshbandī dateng Kanjeng Ratu Ibu, kang ibu Kanjeng Sultan Carbon…* (ff. 1v).

The issues discussed include the following: *tatakramaning zikir* (ff. 6r-8v), *sifate murid* (ff. 8v-12r), *palayaran ing dalem pati* (ff. 12r-13r), *sampurnaning iman* (ff. 13r-16r), *winaca sawuse wiride* (ff. 16r-18r), *sawiji tuduh saking pira-pira wong arif* (ff. 19v-20r), *asale tarekat* (ff. 21v), and a compilation of prayers and mantra in Arabic and Javanese (ff. 21r-26r).

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[1] The manuscript was made available owing to a project conducted in 2011 by Puslitbang Lektur dan Khazanah Keagamaan, Badan Litbang dan Diklat, and the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs in which Cirebon manuscripts were digitized.

The following is the complete text of the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of Yusuf anak Lebai Shah Padang Marbu:

(ff. 2v): *Bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm, al-ḥamd lillāh rabb al-ʻālamīn, wa-al-ṣalāh wa-al-salām ʻalá sayyidinā Muḥammad wa-ālihi wa-ṣaḥbihi wa-sallama, ammā baʻd.*
Anapon sawuse iku maka wus angaturi jangji sarta talkin zikir atas dadalan tariq al-Shaṭṭārī kalawan Naqshabandī
Fakir ʻAbdullāh pecile kyai ʻAbd al-Qahhār al-Shāfiʻī al-Shaṭṭārī Naqshabandī dateng kanjeng Ratu Ibu kang Ibu kanjeng Sultan Carbon dam salam pirang kang rayi dalem Ratu Carbon dam aleha.
Maka fakir ʻAbdullāh kang sinebut angaturi ijazah sarta izin atas anglampahaken ing dadalan tarīq al-Shaṭṭārī kalayan Naqshabandī atas dadalan taraka balaka, tatapi kang angrawuhaken Allah taala ing murid kabeh ing dadalan suluk ahlullāh lan atas kanjeng Nabi Muḥammad ṣallallāhu ʻalayh wa-sallama.
(ff. 4r): *ikilah tartibe salsilah tarīq al-Shaṭṭārī atas dadalan mungguh saking kita rawu<h> ing Nabi atawa atas dadalan tumurun saking kanjeng Nabi rawuh ing kita kabeh.*
Mangka fakir ʻAbdullāh pecile kyai ʻAbd al-Qahhār al-Shaṭṭārī al-Shāfiʻī wus angalap sarta baiat sarta talkin zikir lan musafahah saking Shaykh kang alim kang zahir kan wara'
iya iku Muḥammad al-Ṭabri puterane Imām ʻAlī kang bangsa al-Ṭabri ing Mekah nagarane
maka iya iku angalap saking Shaykh kang arif kang zahid iya iku Shaykh ʻAbd al-Wahhāb puterane kyai ʻAbd al-Ghanī kang bangsa Hindi
maka iya iku angalap saking Shaykh Ṣāliḥ Khaṭib ing Qubbat al-Islām ing nagarane Madinah munawarah
maka iya iku angalap saking Shaykh kang alim al-rabbānī wa-al-fard al-ṣamadī Shaykh Aḥmad al-Qushāshī al-Madanī al-anṣārī
maka iya iku angalap saking Shaykh kang arif kang zahid Shaykh Abī al-Marāhī Aḥmad kang putera ʻAlī Qurāshī al-Shanawī bangsane
lan iya iku angalap saking Shaykh Sulṭān al-ʻĀrifīn Sayyid Ṣibghatullāh puterane Sayyid Rūḥillāh
lan iya iku angalap saking Shaykh Qudrat al-ʻulamāʻ Sayyid Wajīh al-Dīn al-ʻAlwī
lan iya iku angalap saking Sayyid Muḥammad Ghawth puterane Sayyid Khaṭīr al-Dīn
lan iya iku angalap saking Qaṭib al-madāriḥāji
maka iya iku angalap saking Shaykh Hidāyatullāh Sarmasti
maka iya iku angalap saking Shaykh Imām Qāḍī al-Shaṭṭārī
lan iya iku angalap saking Shaykh ʻAbdullāh al-Shaṭṭārī
lan iya iku wus angalap saking Shaykh Muḥammad ʻĀrif
lan iya iku angalap saking Shaykh Muḥammad ʻĀshiq
lan iya iku angalap saking Shaykh Ḥulāqilī Māwarā al-Naharī

lan iya iku angalap saking Quṭub Abū Ḥasan al-Ḥarqānī
lan iya iku angalap saking Shaykh Abū al-Muẓaffar Mawlanā Taraka Ṭūṣī
lan iya iku angalap saking Shaykh I'rābī Yadīd al-'Ishqī
lan iya iku angalap saking Muḥammad Maghribī
lan iya iku angalap saking Shaykh Abī Yazīd al-Busṭāmī
lan iya iku angalap saking Imām Ja'far Ṣādiq
lan iya iku angalap saking Imām Muḥammad Bāqir
lan iya iku angalap saking Imām Ḥusayn kang mati syahid
lan iya iku angalap saking romane Sayyidinā 'Alī karramallāh wajhah
maka iya iku angalap saking kanjeng Rasulullāh ṣallallāhu 'alayh wa-sallama maring Sayyidinā 'Alī kang anak Abī Ṭālib raḍiyallāh 'anhu
maka iya iku angalap saking Sayyidinā Jabrā'il 'alayh al-salām
maka iya iku angalap saking rabb al-'izzati jalla jalāluh subḥānahu wa-ta'ālá wallāhu a'lam

3. Silsilah of Kyai Nur Rismad, Desa Suci

Determining Kyai Nur Rismad's identity is difficult since his name is not mentioned as a student in the Shaṭṭārīyah order. The only available source is manuscript Cod. Or. 7397, preserved in the Leiden University Library Collection. This manuscript contains a Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah (pp. 1-3 in the second text of the manuscript) that refers to him as a student of Kyai Mas Muḥammad Hafi, another Karang ulama from Ciawitali, West Java.

The silsilah text, written in Javanese, confirms that Kyai Nur Rismad came from Desa (district) Suci, which probably refers to a region in Gresik, East Java. His *murshid*, Kyai Mas Muḥammad Hafi, comes from a chain of authority in the Shaṭṭārīyah order that goes back to Shaykh 'Abd al-Muḥyī Pamijahan through Kyai Mas Bagus Muḥammad Muhyi al-Dīn and Kyai Mas Bagus Bojong.

Description of Cod. Or.7397 (Mal.2162)

This manuscript, belonging to the Snouck Hurgronje bequest in the Leiden University Library Collection, can be divided into three main parts (See the detail description by Iskandar 1999:442-443). The first part, written mostly in Javanese with some Arabic, is 27.5 × 18 cm and includes 17 folios (1r-17v), 7-15 lines per page, dluwang, and black ink. It contains *masalah syahadat kang pitung perkara* (the seven categories of shahādah), the explanation of dhikr of lā ilāha illallāh, and illustrations of martabat tujuh doctrine. A part of the text reads as follows: *ingandika Shaykh Yusuf kang wus sinucikaken dening*

Allah taala nyawane… (Shaykh Yusuf, may Allah sanctify his soul says). Unfortunately, there is no further information concerning the identity of Shaykh Yusuf.

The second part, written in Javanese, is 34 × 21.5 cm and includes 27 pages, 10-19 lines per page, lined paper, black ink, and illustrations. It contains the same text as above, but it ends with Kyai Nur Rismad's Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah, which goes back to 'Abd al-Ra'ūf through Kyai Mas Muḥammad Hafi of Karang Ciawitali and through the circles of Karang Saparwadi *ulama* such as Kyai Emas Bagus Muḥammad Muhyi al-Dīn, Kyai Emas Bagus dalem Bojong, and Haji 'Abd al-Muḥyī Pamijahan.

A note in Dutch before the silsilah indicates that this manuscript had been in the possession of Mohd. Hasan, a student from Mangoenredjo. It says: *Fragmenten uit een fragmentarisch daloewang-handschriftje in 't bezit van een santri Mohd. Hasan uit Nĕgara (Mangoenredjo)*. (Fragments from a small fragmentary daloewang manuscript in the possession of a santri Mohd. Hasan from Nĕgara [Mangoenredjo]).

Unlike other silsilahs, this text is not written in a full-page format. It consists of vertical half pages with notes in Dutch on the other half, which partially read as follows: *Dezelfde silsilah, niet verder dan Abdarra'oef, in twee boekjes van Imam Praboe, 1 van Raden Adi Kesoemo, en met toevoegselen in de primbon van penghoeloe Abdoelaziz in Tjirebon enz*. (The same *silsilah*, not beyond Abdarra'oef, in two booklets of Imam Praboe, 1 of Raden Adi Kesoemo, and with additions in the primbon of penghoeloe Abdoelaziz in Tjirebon etc.).

Parts of the manuscript appear to be missing, since the Dutch notes on the title page mentions several titles: *Fragmenten, uit een boek daloewang, afkomstig van grootvader van Kjahi Sahwi, Tjikalong (Soetji). Waarin verder 'Awamil, Adjroemijjah, Samarqandi, Miftah, Mofid. hierin Salasilah Sjattarijjah door Sj. Abdoelmoehji Karang. Augustus 1889*. (Fragments, from a daluwang book, originally from Kyahi Sahwi, Cikalong [Suci], in which furthermore *'Awamil, Adjroemijjah, Samarqandi, Miftah, Mofid*, in this furthermore salasilah of the Shaṭṭārīyah by Sj. Abdoelmoehji Karang. August 1889).[1] This note, presumably added in August 1889, indicates that other texts were included in this manuscript.

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[1] I would like to thank Edwin P. Wieringa for help of reading and translating all parts of the Dutch in this section.

The final part, written in Batavia Malay, is 27.5 × 21 cm and includes four folios of woven paper, Roman characters; 19-29 lines per page, and black ink. It contains two letters in verse, both addressed to a well-known Batavian scholar, Sayyid Uthman (1822-1914) in Petamburan. The first letter (No. 2) is titled *dapet H. Hasan*, which probably refers to Haji Hasan Mustafa (1852-1930), who was engaged in a fierce polemic with Sayyid Uthman from 1903 onward.[1]

The second letter, (No. 3), titled *dapet saja* (read as *saya*), contains a letter by *Alhadji Moesa*, probably referring to Hadji Moehamad Moesa, the prolific writer and *hoofdpanghulu* (Islamic leader) of Limbangan Garut (1822-1886),[2] who identifies himself as *ajahanda* or *mamanda* (poetic for "male parent") in the letter and calls Sayyid Uthman a *anakanda* (poetic for "son"). The first part reads as follows:

Asalamoe alaekoem ja Sajid oesman
yang bidjaksana lagi boediman
Ajahanda ingatkan saperti kiriman
Daripada toehan jang Sipat rahman
Bahwa mamanda soedalah lama
Mendengar anakanda ampoenja nama
Tinggal di patamboeran djadi oelama
Beradab beradat dan beragama

This letter provides additional clues regarding the date of its composition, as it mentions Tuesday 26 in 1300 AH (ca. 1882). The end reads as follows:

Tanda mamanda Alhadji Moesa
Tinggal bermoekim inilah masa
Di nagri garut jang laloe masa
Aman dan makmoer senantiasa
……
Termaktoeb doewa poeloeh anam tanggalnja
Hari Selasa mirih djoehra lintangnja
Sareboe tiga ratus itung hidjrahnja
Tiga taoen berdjalan ini lebihnja

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[1] My sincere thanks goes to Nico Kaptein for clarification and comments regarding this issue.

[2] See Moriyama 2005, especially the third chapter, "The birth of the author. Moehamad Moesa," pp. 100–142.

The following is the complete text of the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of Kyai Nur Rismad, Desa Suci:

> *Bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥim, utawi ikilah kitab ing dalem anyatakaken turun-turune dadarah Shaṭṭārīyah kang tedhak saking Rasulullah ṣallallāhu ʻalayhi wa-sallama*[1]
> *maring Sayyidinā ʻĀlī kang anak Abī Ṭālib raḍiyallāh ʻanhu*
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring*[2] *Sayyidinā Ḥusayn al-Shahīd*
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Sayyidinā Zayn al-ʻAbidīn*
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Imām Muḥammad Bāqir*
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring rūḥānīyah Imām Jaʻfar al-Ṣadīq*
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring rūḥānīyah Sulṭān al-ʻĀrifīn Abī Yazīd Bisṭāmī*
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh Muḥammad Maghrib*
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh ʻArbi Yazīd al-ʻIshqī*[3]
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Quṭub Abū Mawlanā Russi Ṭūsi*
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Quṭub Abī Ḥasan al-Ḥarkāni*
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh Ḥadāqilī Māwuri al-Nahāri*
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Sayyidinā Muḥammad ʻĀshiq*[4]
> *<lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh Muḥammad ʻĀrif>*[5]
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh ʻAbdullāh al-Shaṭṭārī*
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring and Imām Qāḍī al-Shaṭṭārī*
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh Hidayatullāh Sarmasti*
> *<lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh Haji Ḥuḍūrī*
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh Muḥammad Ghawth*
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Wajīh al-Dīn kang bangsa ʻAlwī>*[6]
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Sayyid Sibghatullāh kang anak Sayyid Rūḥullāh*
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Sayyidinā Abī Muwāhib ʻAbdullāh Aḥmad kang putera ʻAlī kang abangsa ʻAbbās ing Shanāwī nagarane*
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh Aḥmad kang putera Muḥammad ing Madinah nagarane, arane kang masyhur kalawan Shaykh Aḥmad Qushāshi*
> *lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh ʻAbd al-Raʼūf kang putera ʻAlī kang abangsa Shaykh Hamzah Fansuri ing Singkil nagarane*

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1 Eng.: "In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful, here is a book on the silsilah of the Shaṭṭārīyah order from the Prophet, peace be upon him."

2 Eng.: "and he, in turn, teaches."

3 The text: *al-ʻQithqī*.

4 The text: *ʻĀsayq*.

5 This part, omitted from the text, is confirmed by the majority of Shaṭṭārīyah silsilahs.

6 This part, omitted from the text, has been reconstructed on the basis of the majority of Shaṭṭārīyah silsilahs.

lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Haji ʻAbd al-Muḥyī ing Karang desane lan ing Saparwadi padasahane
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring kang putera Kyai Emas Bagus Dalem Bojong ing Karang desane lan ing Saparwadi padasahane
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring kang putera Kyai Emas Bagus Muḥammad Muhyi al-Dīn ing Karang desane lan ing Saparwadi padasahane
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring kang putera Kyai Mas Muḥammad Hafi ing Karang desane lan ing Ciawitali padasahane
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Kyai Nur Rismad ing Suci desane
kang muga-muga ingasihi ingiya Allah taala ing duniya lan ing akhirat.[1]

4. Silsilah of Kanjeng Raden Ayu Kilen, Yogyakarta

This silsilah includes Kanjeng Raden Ayu Kilen, a wife of Kanjeng Sinuhun Sultan Pakubuwana Abdurrahman Sayidin Panatagama Senapati Alaga, as a member of the Shaṭṭārīyah order. It is difficult, however, to identify Kanjeng Raden Ayu Kilen and her husband, as it was a common title among women in the Javanese courts, both in Surakarta and Yogyakarta.[2]

As discussed above, since this manuscript belongs to the Mackenzie Collection of the British Library, it is important to keep the Yogyakarta court in mind and ignore any other Raden Ayu Kilens who might be found in the Surakarta court circle.[3] Moreover, Kanjeng Pangeran Pakuningrat ing Ngayogyakarta Adiningrat, who is mentioned in the silsilah, specifically indicates that this manuscript came from the Yogyakarta court circle. Peter Carey's investigation of the Yogyakarta archives revealed that Pangeran Pakuningrat was a prince of old Mataram lineage and a distinguished member of the Javanese aristocratic society. In 1763, he married a Surakartan princess, Ratu Alit, a daughter of Pakubuwana II (r. 1726-1749) of Kartasura and Surakarta. In December 1765, the Yogyakarta Crown Prince (future Hamengkubuwana II, r. 1792-1810, 1811-1812, 1826-1828) married Pakuningrat and Ratu Alit's daughter, Radén Ayu Dipati Aném, later known as Ratu Anom and (after 1805) as Ratu Ĕmas (P. B. R. Carey 1980:6, 159 n. 4). Ricklefs states that this marriage marked the failure of Sultan Hamengkubuwana I's

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[1] Eng.: "may Allah, the Highest, save us in this world and the hereafter."

[2] I would like to thank M.C. Ricklefs for clarification regarding these issues.

[3] Ricklefs, for instance, mentions a wife of Pakubuwana III, who, on August 31, 1768, gave birth to a son, the future Pakubuwana IV. She is identified as Ratu Kentjana, a title she acquired in 1762. She was previously unknown as Raden Ayu Kilen. For details, see Ricklefs 1974:140 n. 89.

marriage diplomacy, as he had previously proposed marriage to Susuhunan Pakubuwana III to reunify Java, which was rejected (Ricklefs 1974:117-118).

As for Kanjeng Raden Ayu Kilen, she is explicitly mentioned in the silsilah as a wife (*ingkang garwa*) of Kanjeng Sinuhun Sultan Pakubuwana Abdurrahman Sayidin Panatagama Senapati Alaga. However, there is uncertainty regarding Kanjeng Sinuhun's identity. Fortunately, to resolve this, we have assistance from Padmasusastra, who provides a list of four official wives (*garwa padmi*) of Hamengkubuwana II, which includes Kanjeng Ratu Kedhaton, Kanjeng Ratu Emas (the daughter of Pakuningrat), Kanjeng Ratu Kencana, and Kanjeng Ratu Sultan. In addition, the list included Hamengkubuwana II's children, of which several were mentioned as the children of 'Raden Ayu Kulon' (Kilen), also a *garwa* of the King. However, this clearly refers to a *garwa pangrembe*, a concubine, rather than a *garwa padmi*.[1]

However, one should not confuse Raden Ayu Kilen, a *garwa pangrembe* of Hamengkubuwana II, with Kanjeng Ratu Emas (d. 1824), one of his *garwa padmi*, who, according to Peter Carey, was also known as Ratu Kulon/Kilen.[2] Ricklefs asserts that these were two different women, as indicated by the different titles "Ratu" and "Raden Ayu", and this was confirmed by Padmasusastra, who lists different names of children for both.[3] According to Padmasusastra, Kanjeng Ratu Kulon/Kilen (or Kanjeng Ratu Emas or Ratu Anom or Raden Ayu Dipati Anem), a *garwa padmi* of Hamengkubuwana II, the daughter of Pangeran Pakuningrat had a son named Kanjeng Pangeran Mangkudiningrat, while Raden Ayu Kulon/Kilen, a *garwa pangrembe* of Hamengkubuwana II, had three children named Pangeran Pujakusuma, Raden Ayu Martanagara, and Pangeran Timur.[4]

Since it has been clarified that Kanjeng Raden Ayu Kilen's husband who is mentioned in the silsilah is Hamengkubuwana II of Yogyakarta, two questions arise. First, why is he addressed as Sultan Pakubuwana in the silsilah rather than Hamengkubuwana? Second, why is the title Abdurrahman

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[1] Padmasusastra 1902:159 and 292. I would like to sincerely thank M. C. Ricklefs for bringing this source to my attention.

[2] Carey 1980, Appendix I, p. 760. By personal email, Carey has confirmed that in 1812 Kanjeng Ratu Emas used the title "Ratu Kulon/Kilen".

[3] Personal communication by email with M. C. Ricklefs, May 25, 2013.

[4] Padmasusastra 1902:159 and 292; this detailed information was provided by M. C. Ricklefs.

Sayidin Panatagama Senapati Alaga used rather than the "official" Senapati Ing Alaga Abdurahman Sayidin Panatagama Kalipatulah?

The issue regarding this confusing use of titles by the Yogyakarta kings is resolved by Ricklefs. Partly referring to the problem of Javanese language usage in the eighteenth century and the political tension between the Yogyakarta and Surakarta courts in the second half of the eighteenth century, he suggested that such usage was common at the time, and there are examples in which Yogyakarta's Sultan used the name Pakubuwana.[1] Indeed, after becoming the ruler of Yogyakarta in 1755, Pangeran Mangkubumi (future Hamengkubuwana I), adopted the traditional royal title of Susuhunan Pakubuwana Senapati Ing Alaga Abdurahman Sayidin Panatagama to stake his claim as the true monarch of Mataram over Susuhunan Pakubuwana III. The same confusion concerning the Susuhunan and Sultan titles also applied to Mangkunegara, who was consistently called Pakunegara in his early years as the Prince Resident within Surakarta (Ricklefs 1974:55 and 92 n. 70). Hence, we can assume that the line of transmission for this Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah goes from Pangeran Pakuningrat, a senior prince of Yogyakarta who is mentioned in the silsilah as *Kanjeng Pangeran Pakuningrat ing Ngayogyakarta Adiningrat*, to Raden Ayu Kilen, one of Hamengkubuwana II's concubines who is mentioned in the silsilah as *Kanjeng Raden Ayu Kilen ingkang garwa Kanjeng Sinuhun Sultan Pakubuwana Abdurrahman Sayidin Panatagama Senapati Alaga*.

As seen in the silsilah text below, Pangeran Pakuningrat was initiated into the Shaṭṭārīyah order by Kyai 'Abdullah of Bagelen, Central Java, who received his *ijāzah* from Emas Nida Muhammad, the grandson of 'Abd al-Muḥyī of Karang. Regarding Kyai Kastuba, Peter Carey notes that in the early nineteenth century, there was a senior *ulama* in Bagelen named Seh Kastuba (P. Carey 2008:790). He suggests that this *guru* was probably the same Kyai Kastuba mentioned in the silsilah.[2]

In addition, another local source, *Babad Gijanti: Pratelan namaning tijang lan panggenan*, mentions a person named Kastuba, who is described as an *abdi Suranatan ing Kabanaran* (*Babad Gijanti: Pratelan Namaning Tijang Lan Panggenan* 1939:16 and 64). The *Suranatan* refers to the armed religious corps of the Javanese Islamic kingdoms that recruited religious students (*santri*) and

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[1] For additional details regarding this matter, see Ricklefs 1974:78–79.

[2] Personal communication by email with Peter Carey, May 24, 2013.

leaders (*ulama*) (P. Carey 1997:31-33, 714; Graaf and Pigeaud 1974:68), while *Kabanaran* refers to Mangkubumi (Susuhunan Kabanaran).

However, further research is required to determine the identity of this Kyai 'Abdullah or Kyai Kastuba of Bagelen who initiated Pangeran Pakuningrat, one of the most important elites in early Yogyakarta, into the Shaṭṭārīyah order.

Description of MS Jav.83 (IO 3102)

According to Ricklefs (1998:254-260), this manuscript was part of the collection kept in the court circles and was probably acquired by Colin Mackenzie during the raid of the Yogyakarta kraton in 1812 (see also Ricklefs 1997:245-246).

This manuscript, written in Javanese Pegon, is 22 × 17 cm and includes 76 pages, 13 lines per page, two numbering systems (folios and pages), European paper, a watermark 'LVG', and black ink with red rubrics. A restoration appears to have been performed; however, some pages are missing.

This manuscript consists of the following texts (see also the description by Ricklefs and Voorhoeve 1977:70):

(a) *Kitab Daka* (pp. 1-16): a Javanese treatise on the unity of *kawula* (God's servant) and *Gusti* (the divine Lord), which are understood as all of humankind and God, respectively. In the context of the Javanese court, however, these two terms may be interpreted as the relationship between *kawula* (the servants) and *gusti* (the king and other aristocratic lords) (Ricklefs 1998:258). Ricklefs provides a detailed analysis that includes an interpretation of the Javanese date of completion, which indicates August 14, 1741 (Ricklefs 1998:255). A typescript transliteration with a brief summary of this text has been provided by J. Soegiarto (Soegiarto n.d., completed in Sept. 1951, unpublished);

(b) *Kitab Fatahurrahman* (pp. 16-36): a Javanese verse usually associated with the Arabic *Fatḥ al-raḥmān* by Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī (d. 1520). A critical edition of the text with an English translation has been provided by Drewes (Drewes 1977:52-87). Criticizing Drewes's date conversion, Ricklefs provides a more convincing date of composition, August 14, 1741, which is confirmed by the Kartasura court's historical account (Ricklefs 1998:255). The final page contains a type of magical prayer;

(c) Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah (pp. 37-38): unfortunately, the silsilah is incomplete and ends at Sayyid Ṣibgatullāh b. Sayyid Rūḥullāh. The missing pages were probably misplaced during restoration;
(d) the advantages of *tasbīḥ* prayer, also called *ṭā'at taṣbīḥ* (pp. 39-45): the first text reads as follows: *bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm, punika fadilate ṭā'at taṣbīḥ carita punika saking Ibnu 'Abbās* (in the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful, this is the advantage of *ṭā'at taṣbīḥ* from Ibnu 'Abbās);
(e) Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah (pp. 47-50): the silsilah goes back to Kanjeng Raden Ayu Kilen of Yogyakarta through a series of teachers, as can be seen below;
(f) a compilation of texts regarding the intention of prayer (*nīyah*), *dhikr*, and an explanation of the characteristics of students who follow the path (*murīd*) (pp. 50-75).

The following is the complete text of the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of Kanjeng Ayu Kilen, Yogyakarta:

> *Bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm, utawi ikilah kitab ing dalem anyatakaken turu*<n>*-turuné dadalan Shaṭṭārīyah kang tedhak saking kanjeng Rasulullah ṣallallāhu 'alayh wa-sallama*[1]
> *Iya iku amuruk maring Sayyidinā 'Alī ingkang putera Abī Ṭālib raḍiyallāh 'anhu*
> *lan iya iku amuruk maring Sayyidinā Ḥusayn Shahīd*
> *lan iya iku amuruk maring Sayyidinā Zayn al-'Abidīn*
> *lan iya iku amuruk maring Imām Muḥammad Bāqir*
> *lan iya iku amuruk maring rūḥānīyah Imām Ja'far Ṣadīq*
> *lan iya iku amuruk maring rūḥānīyah Sulṭān 'Ārifīn Abī Yazīd Basṭāmī*
> *lan iya iku amuruk maring Shaykh Muḥammad Maghrib*
> *lan iya iku amuruk maring Shaykh 'Arbī Yazīd Ishqī*
> *lan iya iku amuruk maring Quṭub Abū Muẓfarī Mawlānā ing Ngerum bangsane Tusi tanahe*
> *iya iku amuruk maring Quṭub Abī Ḥasan Ḥarqānī*
> *lan iya iku amuruk maring Shaykh Ḥudaqulī Māwuri Nahārī*
> *lan iya iku amuruk maring Sayyid Muḥammad 'Āshiq*
> *lan iya iku amuruk maring Sayyid Muḥammad 'Ārif*
> *lan iya iku amuruk maring Shaykh 'Abdullāh Shaṭṭārī*
> *lan iya iku amuruk maring Imām Qāḍī Shaṭṭārī*
> *lan iya iku amuruk maring Shaykh Hidāyatullāh Sarmasti*

[1] The text: *wa-salām*.

lan iya iku amuruk maring Sayyid Muḥammad Ghawth kang putera Sayyid Khaṭīr al-Dīn
lan iya iku amuruk maring Sayyid Wajīh al-Dīn kang abangsa ʻAluwī
lan iya iku amuruk maring Sayyid Ṣibghatullāh kang putera Sayyid Rūḥullāh
lan iya iku amuruk Sayyidinā Abī Mawāhib ʻAbdullāh Aḥmad kang putera [ʻAlī kang abangsa ʻAbbās ing Shanāwī nagarane
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh Aḥmad kang putera][1] *Muḥammad ing Madinah negarane kang masyhur kalawan Shaykh Aḥmad Qushāshī*
lan iya iku amuruk maring Shaykh ʻAbd al-Raʼūf kang putera ʻAlī kang abangsa Shaykh Hamzah Fansuri
lan iya iku amuruk maring Shaykh Haji ʻAbd al-Muḥyī ing Kawis desane
lan iya iku amuruk maring ingkang putera Emas Haji Abdullah Feqih Ibrāhīm pon nenggih ing Kawis
lan iya iku amuruk maring ingkang putera malih Emas Nida Muḥammad pon nenggih ing Kawis
lan iya iku amuruk maring Kyai ʻAbdullāh kang masyhur kalawan Kyai Kastuba ing Bagelen negarane
lan iya iku amuruk maring Kanjeng Pangeran Pakuningrat ing Ngayogyakarta Adiningrat
lan iya iku amuruk maring Kanjeng Raden Ayu Kilen ingkang garwa Kanjeng Sinuhun Sultan Pakubuwana ʻAbdurraḥmān Sayyid Panatagama Senapati Alaga
kang muga-muga tinetepan imane dening gusti kang agung lan kang muga ingapuraha sakadhahe dosane lan kang muga tinarimaha sakadhahe kabejikane lan kinasihana ing dunya rawuh ing akhirat, amīn ya rabb al-ʻālamīn.

5. Silsilah of Ratu Raja Fatimah, Cirebon

This manuscript from Cirebon, MS 211_BMB029 from the private collection of drh. H Bambang Irianto, contains the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of the local court elites. The silsilah goes back to Ratu Raja Fatimah, whose biography is still unclear. Her genealogy goes back to ʻAbd al-Muḥyī Karang Pamijahan through Kyai Mas Muhammad Arjain, who became the Pangulu in Kanoman, through Kyai Muhammad Salih in Kartabasuki Cirebon, through Haji Muhammad Hasanuddin Karang Saparwadi, and finally, through Haji Abdullah, who studied with ʻAbd al-Muḥyī. This manuscript was made available owing to a project conducted by Puslitbang Lektur dan Khazanah

[1] This part is omitted from the text and added with particular reference to MSS. Jav. 69 of Kanjeng Ratu Kadospaten of Ngayogyakarta Adiningrat's silsilah.

Keagamaan, Badan Litbang dan Diklat, and the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs in which Cirebon manuscripts were digitized.[1]

Description of MS 211_BMB029

This manuscript, written in Javanese and Arabic, is 22 × 17 cm and includes 45 folios, with the last two being blank; 11 lines per page; black ink; no binding; and gilded illustrations on ff. 8v-r, ff. 20v-r, f. 22r, and f. 24r that are related to the Sufi doctrine of *martabat tujuh* and *dhikr* of *lā ilāha illallāh*. One such illustration (ff. 8v-r) has been included in Fathurahman 2008:94-95).

This manuscript consists of the following texts:

(a) Arabic prayers with Javanese introduction for various purposes (ff. 1r-2r): The first line reads as follows: *punika dua saking Nabi Allah winaca lamun priyatin atawa kasusahan atawa kinaniaya dening wong den wacaha*;

(b) Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah going back to Ratu Raja Fatimah, followed by explanations on the intentions of several voluntary (*sunnah*) prayers conducted by *sālik* such as *awwābīn*, *tahajjud*, *ḍuhá*, *witr*; and the meaning of *lā ilāha illallāh*. In addition, there are illustrations regarding the concepts of *aḥadīah, waḥdah, wāḥidīyah, 'ālam arwāḥ, 'ālam mithāl, 'alam ajsām,* and *'alam insān kāmil*. It also includes guidance for and the ethics of *dhikr* and the categories of followers of the Sufi path (*murīd*. Ff. 3v-16r);

(c) *Wirid den Ratu Raja Fatimah* (A formulation of *dhikr* of *Ratu Raja Fatimah*): the first line reads as follows: …*utawi ikilah ing dalem anyatakaken ing wiride Ratu Raja Fatimah*…. This part ends with a *dā'irah* illustration of *dhikr istīlā'* that reads as follows: …*utawi ikilah daerahe* dhikr istīlā' 'ishqīyah…(ff. 16r-20r);

(d) a compilation of mystical Sufi texts on various issues, including the mystical interpretation of the phrase *lā ilāha illallāh* according to the number of its alphabets, the advantages of reciting it according to the Prophet's sayings, *taraqqī*, *sakrat al-mawt*, the six pillars of the faith, and the encouragement to voice aloud the *shahādah* as a valid confession of Islam at least once in a lifetime (ff. 21v-43r).

The following is the complete text of the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of Ratu Raja Fatimah, Cirebon:

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[1] I would like to thanks Alfan Alfianto and friends, researchers in Puslitbang Lektur dan Khazanah Keagamaan, the Ministry of Religious Affairs of Indonesia, who gave me access to their digital Cirebon manuscripts Collection.

Bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm, ikilah kitabing dalem anyatakaken turun-turune dadalan Shaṭṭārīah kang tedak saking Rasulullāh ṣallallāhu ʻalayhi wa-sallama
maring Sayyidinā ʻAlī kang anak Abī Ṭālib raḍiyallāhu ʻanhu
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Sayyidinā Ḥusayn al-Shahīd
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Sayyidinā Zayn al-ʻAbidīn
lan iya iku amuruk[1] *iya maring Imām Muḥammad Bāqir*
lan iya[2] *iku amuruk iya maring rūḥānīyah Imām Jaʻfar al-Ṣādiq*
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring rūḥānīyah Sulṭān ʻĀrifīn Abī Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh Muḥammad Maghrib
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh ʻArbī Yazīd al-ʻIshqī
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Quṭub Abū Muẓaffar Mawlanā Rūmī Ṭūṣī
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Quṭub Abī Ḥasan al-Ḥarqāni
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh Ḥudāqulī Māwuri al-Nahāri
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Sayyid Muḥammad ʻĀshiq
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Sayyid Muḥammad ʻĀrif
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh ʻAbdullāh al-Shaṭṭārī
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Imām Qāḍī al-Shaṭṭārī
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh Hidayatullāh Sarmasti
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh Haji Huḍurī
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Sayyid Muḥammad Ghawth kang putera Sayyid Khaṭīr al-Dīn
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Sayyid Wajīh al-Dīn kang abangsa ʻUluwī
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Sayyid Ṣibghatullāh kang putera Sayyid Rūḥullāh
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Sayyidinā Abī Muwāhab ʻAbdullāh Aḥmad kang putera ʻAlī kang abangsa ʻAbbās ing Shanawī nagarane
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh Aḥmad kang putera Muḥammad ing Madinah nagarane kang masyhur kalawan Shaykh Aḥmad Qushāshī
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh ʻAbd al-Raʼūf kang putera ʻAlī kang abangsa Shaykh Hamzah Fansuri ing Singkil nagarane
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh Haji ʻAbd al-Muḥyī ing Karang desane lan ing Saparwadi padukuhane
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring kang putera Shaykh Haji Abdullah ing Karang desane lan ing Saparwadi padhukuhane
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh Haji Muhammad Hasanuddin ing Karang desane lan ing Saparwadi padhukuhane
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Kyai Muhammad Salih ing Kartabasuki desane ing Cirebon nagarane

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[1] The text: *amu amuruk*.

[2] The text: *lan iya lan iya*.

lan iya iku amuruk iya maring kang putera Kyai Mas Muḥammad Arjain kang dadi Pangulu ing Cirebon Kanoman
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Ratu Raja Fatimah Sami kang putera Kanjeng Gusti Sultan Anom kang muga-muga angasihana ingiya Allah taala ing dunya lan ing akhirat.

6. Silsilah of Nyimas Ayu Alimah, Cirebon

The final manuscript from Cirebon that is examined in this study is MS 211_KCR028 from the Kraton Kacirebonan Collection, which contains the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah that goes back to Nyimas Ayu Alimah through a series of Aceh and Karang Saparwadi ulama. However, the available sources do not provide sufficient information regarding the biography of Nyimas Ayu Alimah. This manuscript, too, was made available owing to a project conducted by Puslitbang Lektur dan Khazanah Keagamaan, Badan Litbang dan Diklat, the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs in which Cirebon manuscripts were digitized.

Description of 211_KCR028

This manuscript, written in Javanese Pegon, is 22 × 17 cm and includes 20 folios, 13 lines per page, black ink, and no binding. The final page contains information, probably inserted by a later owner of the manuscript, regarding the time of reading: June 26, (19)73. This manuscript consists of the following texts:

(a) A short text regarding the words that should be recited in the *sujūd al-sahwī* (prostration of forgetfulness) (f. 2r): the text reads as follows: *ikilah wawacané sujud sahwi* (here is what should be recited in *sujūd al-sahwī*);
(b) Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah that goes back to Nyimas Ayu Alimah, Cirebon, followed by explanations on the intentions of several voluntary (*sunnah*) prayers that should be conducted by *sālik*, such as *awwābīn*, *tahajjud*, *ḍuhá*, *witr*. In addition, it includes the meaning of *lā ilāha illallāh*, guidance for and the ethics of *dhikr*, and illustrations of the *dhikr* of *lā ilāha illallāh*. It also includes prayers for daily life and various purposes created by the Prophet (ff. 3v-19r);
(c) a prayer for a person who is on the verge of death (*sakarat al-mawt*) (f. 20v): a text written in Pegon and Javanese script, which reads as follows: *punika duaning wong sakarat* (this is a prayer for a person who is on the verge of death).

The following is the complete text of the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of Nyimas Ayu Alimah, Cirebon:

Bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm, utawi ikilah kitabing dalem anyatakaken turun-turune dadalan Shaṭṭārīah kang tedak saking jeng Rasulullāh ṣallallāhu ʻalayhi wa-sallama maring Sayyidinā ʻAlī kang putera Abī Ṭālib raḍiyallāh ʻanhu
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Sayyidinā Ḥusayn al-Shahīd
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Sayyidinā Zayn al-ʻĀbidīn
lan iya iku amuruk[1] iya maring Imām Muḥammad Bāqir
lan iya[2] iku amuruk iya maring rūḥānīyah Imām Jaʻfar al-Ṣādiq[3]
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring rūḥānīyah Sulṭān ʻĀrifīn Abī Yazīd al-Busṭāmī
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh Muḥammad [Maghrib][4]
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh ʻArbī Yazīd al-ʻIshqī
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Quṭub Abū Muẓaffar [Maw]lanā Rūmī Ṭūṣī
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Quṭub Abī Ḥasan al-Ḥarqāni
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring[5] Shaykh Ḥudāqulī Māwuri al-Nahāri
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Sayyidinā Muḥammad ʻĀshiq
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Sayyidinā Muḥammad ʻĀrif
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh ʻAbdullāh al-Shaṭṭārī
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Imām Qāḍī al-Shaṭṭārī
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh Hidayatullāh Sarmasti
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh Haji Ḥuḍurī
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Sayyidinā Muḥammad Ghawth kang putera Sayyidinā Khaṭīr al-Dīn
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Sayyid Wajīh al-Dīn kang bangsa ʻUluwī
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Sayyid Ṣibghatullāh kang putera Rūḥullāh
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Sayyid Abī Muwāhib ʻAbdullāh Aḥmad kang putera ʻAlī kang bangsa ʻAbbās ing Shanawī negarane
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh Aḥmad kang putera Muḥammad ing Madinah nagarane arane kang masyhur Shaykh Aḥmad Qushāshī
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh ʻAbd al-Raʼūf kang putera ʻAlī kang bangsa Shaykh Hamzah Fansuri ing Singkil nagarane
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh Haji ʻAbd al-Muḥyī ing Karang desane lan ing Saparwadi padhukuhane
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring kang putera Dalem Bojong ing Karang desane lan ing Saparwadi padhukuhane

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1 The text: *amu amuruk*.
2 The text: *lan iya lan iya*.
3 The text: *al-Ṣiddīq*.
4 This word is confirmed by most versions of silsilahs.
5 The text includes the word *Quṭb* here, but it was immediately annulled.

lan iya iku amuruk iya maring kang putera Kyai Mas Bagus Muḥammad Muḥy al-Dīn ing Karang desane lan ing Saparwadi padhukuhane
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Kyai Muqa'im ing Carbon nagarane lan ing Sampiran padhukuhane
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Bagus Kashfiyah ing Carbon nagarane lan ing Wanantara padhukuhane
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Nyimas Ayu Alimah ing Carbon nagarane
muga-muga angasihana ingiya Allah taala ing dunya lan ing akhirat.

7. Silsilah of Kyai Bulqiyah, Sidapurna Cirebon

The following is an example of Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah that involves the local ulama in Cirebon, rather than the non-court elites in the region. This Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah goes back to 'Abd al-Muḥyī Karang Pamijahan through several teachers, including Kyai Talabuddin of Batang, Kyai Muqamim of Cirebon, Kyai Mas Irfan of Cirebon, and Kyai Haji Sharqawi of Majalengka. This silsilah is found on ff. 47r-49v in MS Crb/OS/01 /2012.

Description of MS Crb/OS/01 /2012

This manuscript, belonging to the private collection of Opan Safari in Cirebon, was made available owing to the Project of Preservation of Cirebon Manuscripts conducted by the Indonesian Association for Nusantara Manuscripts (Manassa) in 2012, in collaboration with the Fahmina Institute for Islamic Studies and Leipzig University in Germany.

The manuscript, written in Arabic and Javanese, is 21 × 16.5 cm and includes 123 folios, 8-16 lines per page, new cardboard binding, European paper, black ink with few red rubrics, and illustrations on several pages (ff. 52v-52r, f. 58v). In addition, lined paper, probably inserted during restoration, includes a Javanese mantra with several Arabic words in Roman to prevent confusion. The first line reads as follows: *Denwatja ing banju den inumaken*. The inconsistent numbering system indicates several omitted. Furthermore, there is a colophon on f. 36v which states that the text was copied on Thursday 24, without further information.

This manuscript consists of the following texts:

(a) an Arabic treatise, with interlinear translation in Javanese (except the last two folios), that addresses the Sufi teachings regarding *fanā'* (annihilation), which is part of the doctrine of the unity of being (*waḥdat al-wujūd*): the end of the text reads as follows: *innallāha nafsunā wa-wujūdunā wa-*

naḥnu nafsuhu wa-wujūduhu, tammat hādhā al-kitāb faḍlat al-mushrifah tamma wallāhu a'lam (ff. 1v-21r);

(b) an explanation, written in Arabic, on the benefits of prayer (*fā'idat ṣalāh*) and performing *dhikr* (ff. 22v-30r): several separated pages on ff. 35r-36r, which appear to be part of this text, state that it was summarized by Abū Yahyá Zakārīyā al-Anṣārī's Fatḥ al-Wahhāb;

(c) an interpretation of *basmalah* and *sūrat al-fātiḥah*, written in Javanese (ff. 33r-35v);

(d) various fragmented texts in Javanese, and a few in Arabic, concerning the pillars of marriage (*rukune nikah*), *syahadat palayaran*, the intention (*nīyah*) of fasting and prayer, and the guidance for performing the oath of allegiance (*bay'ah*) when entering the Sufi order (ff. 41v-47r);

(e) Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah, written in Javanese, going back to Kyai Bulqiyah, followed by explanations on the intentions of several voluntary (*sunnah*) prayers that should be conducted by *sālik*, such as *awwābīn*, *tahajjud*, *ḍuhá*, *witr*, and *martabat tujuh*. Furthermore, it contains guidance for and the ethics of *dhikr* as well as the categories of the *murīd* (ff. 47r-61v);

(f) a Javanese elaboration on the interpretation of Sufi teachings regarding *martabat tujuh* (ff. 61r-102r);

(g) *Bayān al-alif* (The explanation of *alif*): a brief Arabic text explaining the meaning of the alphabet *alif* from the Sufi perspective (ff. 102r-103r), followed by another Javanese explanation of the doctrine of *martabat tujuh* (ff. 103r-110v);

(h) a Javanese primbon on the interpretation of the case where an animal enters a yard, village, house, or country. The first line reads as follows: *bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm, punika anyatakaken alamating hewan kang manjing ing pakarangan atawa ing padukuhan atawa ing padedesan atawa ing imah atawa ing padaleman atawa ing nagara* (ff. 111v-112r);

(i) the final folios (ff. 113v-123v) contain loose fragmented texts written in Arabic, some with Javanese interlinear translations, which focus on the methods of performing *ṣalāh*. In addition, they include a prayer associated with someone known as Shaykh Sayyid Shaṭa' Shams al-Dīn al-Dimyāṭī.

The following is the complete text of the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of Kyai Bulqiyah Sidapurna, Cirebon:

Bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm, utawi ikilah kitabing dalem anyatakaken turune turune dadalan Syatari tedhak saking kanjeng Rasulullāh
maring Sayyidinā ʻAlī kang putera Abī Ṭālib raḍiyallāh ʻanhu
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Sayyid Ḥusayn al-Shahīd
lan iya iku amuruk iku iya maring Sayyidinā Zayn al-ʻAbidīn
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Imām Muḥammad Bāqir
lan iya amuruk iya maring Imām Jaʻfar al-Ṣādiq[1]
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring rūḥānīyah Sulṭān ʻĀrifīn Abī Yazīd al-Busṭāmī
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh Muḥammad Maghrib
<lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh ʻArbī Yazīd al-ʻIshqī>[2]
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Quṭub Abū Muẓaffar Mawlanā Rūmī Ṭūṣī
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Quṭub Abī Ḥasan al-Ḥarqāni
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh Ḥudāqulī Māwara al-Nahāri
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Sayyid Muḥammad ʻĀshiq
[lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Sayyid Muḥammad ʻĀrif][3]
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh ʻAbdullāh al-Shaṭṭārī
lan iya iku amuruk maring Hidāyat Sarmasti
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh Haji Huḍurī
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh Sayyid Muḥammad Ghawth kang putera Sayyid Khaṭīr al-Dīn
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Sayyid Wajīh al-Dīn kang bangsa ʻUluwiri
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Ṣibghatullāh kang putera Sayyid Rūḥullāh
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Sayyidinā Abī Mawāhib ʻAbdullāh Aḥmad kang putera ʻAlī kang bangsa ʻAbbās ing Shanawī nagarane
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh Aḥmad kang putera Muḥammad ing Madinah nagarane kang masyhur kalawan Shaykh Aḥmad ing Qushāshī
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh ʻAbd al-Raʼūf kang putera ʻAlī kang bangsa Shaykh Fansuri ing Singkil nagarane
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Shaykh Haji al-Muhyi ing Karang nagarane ing Saparwadi padhukuhane
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Kyai Pangulu ing Batang nagarane Kyai Talabuddin arane
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Kyai Muqayim ing Carbon nagarane, ing Sampiran padhukuhane
lan iya iku amuruk iya maring Kyai[4] *Mas Irfan Carbon nagarane, Atuk (?) padhukuhane*

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[1] The text: *al-Ṣiddīq*.

[2] This part is omitted from the text.

[3] This part is omitted from the text.

[4] The following name is mentioned here, although it appears to have been immediately annulled by the same author: *Halifah ing Carbon nagarane ing Babakan padukuhane*.

maka iya iku amuruk iya maring Kyai Haji Syarqowi Majalengka nagarane, Babakan padhukuhane
maka iya iku amuruk Kyai Bulqiyah Carbon nagarane, Sidapurna padhukuhane
mungguh-mungguh angasihan Allah ingya saking dunya rawuh ing akhirat.

8. Silsilah of Raden Behi Wigyawinata, Caruban Madiun

The following is an example of a Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah that presents the transmission of the order from Karang ulama to their students in Surakarta, Pacitan, Tegalreja Magetan, and finally Madiun. The final name mentioned in the silsilah is Raden Behi Wigyawinata of Madiun.

According to some Shaṭṭārīyah silsilahs circulated in East Java, Raden Behi Wigyawinata (or Raden Ngabehi Wigyawinata) is known as the *Palang* or *Demang* of Kayo in Caruban and as the Shaṭṭārīyah *murshid* of Nyai Ageng Hardjo Besari, who, in turn, taught Kyai Hasan Ulama of Takeran Magetan, who taught Kyai Imam Murshid Muttaqin of Takeran, who taught Kyai Muhammad Kusnun Malibari of Tanjunganom Nganjuk, who taught Muhammad Munawar Affandi of Nganjuk. He is described in the text as *Raden Behi Wigyawinata, dados palang ing dusun Kayo Caruban*, the sixteenth son among the 31 children of Raden Tumenggung Wigyasubrata, *bupati ing Caruban* (pp. 131-132).

According to the silsilah, his close *murshid* was Haji Abdurrahman of Tegalreja Magetan, who studied with Kyai Ahmad (or Kyai Ageng Ahmadiya) of Pacitan, who studied with Kyai Bagus Mustahal of Pacitan, who studied with Kyai Murshad of Surakarta, who studied with Kyai Mas Bagus Muhyi of Karang Saparwadi, who studied with Kyai Mas Bagus of Bojong Karang Saparwadi, a student of Haji ʻAbd al-Muḥyī of Karang Saparwadi.

Description of Kitāb Mamlūkah

This copy, written in Javanese and Arabic, is 35 × 20 cm and includes 210 pages, with the numbering restarted after p. 13 (pp. 1-210); 21-31 lines per page; photo copy paper; and black ink. A colophon on p. 179 refers to the Javanese year of 1806 (ca. 1877).

The silsilah of Raden Behi Wigyawinata is found on pp. 1r-2r in the second part of the text, which is said to be quoted from *Kitāb Mamlūkah*. This copy belongs to the Pesantren Sabilil Muttaqien (PSM) Collection in Takeran, Magetan, East Java. Considering the contents, this work was significant for

the Shaṭṭārīyah followers in the region, although its original version was no longer present in the collection as of the preservation program conducted in Februay 2010.

Apart from various Islamic mystical teachings, this work provides a list of Raden Behi Wigyawinata's family, whose mystical genealogy goes back to the founders of PSM Takeran, Kyai Hasan Ulama (d. 1918), son of Kyai Khalifah Bogem Sampung of Ponorogo (Zakaria 1987:12), and Kyai Imam Murshid, a Madiun *ulama* who was abducted by the Indonesian Communist Party (Partai Komunis Indonesia) on September 18, 1948. The former built Pesantren Takeran in 1880, while the later reformed the curricula and changed it to Pesantren Sabilil Muttaqien (PSM) on September 16, 1943.

This work consists of many issues related to Islamic mystical teachings. However, the following description offers merely a general overview of the text:

(a) *Al-Miftāḥ fī sharḥ ma'rifat al-islām wa-al-īmān* (The key, a commentary on *Islām* and the faith) (pp. 1-13 of the first part): written in Arabic, it explains the meanings of the five pillars of Islam (*arkān al-islām*) and the six pillars of the faith (*arkān al-īmān*);

(b) Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah (pp. 1-2 of the second part): the silsilah goes backs to Raden Behi Wigyawinata of Madiun through a series of teachers. The first line before the silsilah reads as follows: *bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm, utawi ikilah nukil saking kitab Mamlūkah*. The silsilah is followed by an explanation of the requirements for those who wish to join the Shaṭṭārīyah, Naqshbandīyah, and 'Ishqiyāh (pp. 2-4) as well as of the practice of *bay'ah* (the oath of allegiance) required to enter the order (pp. 5-9);

(c) the conditions for performing *dhikr* (invocation), followed by guidelines for *dhikr* that should be considered by the followers of the Sufi order. The opening lines read as follows: *utawi ikilah wajibe wong zikir maring Allah iku pira-pira syarat* (pp. 9-17);

(d) explanations on various issues regarding Islamic mystical teachings, including (but not limited to) the following: *a'yān khārijīyah*, *a'yān thābitah, fanā'* (annihilation); several concepts of *martabat tujuh* (pp. 17-21); guidelines for and requirements to perform *dhikr* of *lā ilāha illallāh*, with several illustrations; the proper faith (pp. 21-36); the category and characteristics of *murīd*s, including *murīd mubtadī*, *murīd mutawassiṭ*, *murīd kāmil*, and *murīd kāmil mukammil* (pp. 36-39), *dhikr nafyī* and *dhikr*

ithbāt; the origin and essence of *rūḥ*; types of prayers such as *ṣalāt dā'im*, *ṣalāt bāṭin*, and *ṣalāt jawāriḥ*; and other explanations related to Sufi teachings. Javanese writing was included on pp. 39-69;

(e) Islamic mystical teachings believed to be delivered by the Saint Sunan Kalijaga (pp. 69-73). The first line reads as follows: *utawi ikilah pangandikane Sunan Kalijaga*;

(f) explanations including the following: the attributes of God, followed by those of His messengers (pp. 74-88); *dhikr* of *lā ilāha illallāh* (pp. 89-98); the state of a person on the verge of death (pp. 98-101); the interpretation of *sūrat al-Fātiḥah* and *al-ikhlāṣ* (pp. 101-105); and the advantage of seeking knowledge (*ṭalab al-'ilm*), especially that concerning theology (pp. 106-112);

(g) the Islamic mystical teachings of Sunan Giri, followed by several other texts regarding the same issue. The first line reads as follows: *utawi ikilah pecahane Kanjeng Sunan Giri* (pp. 112-121);

(h) the categories of *dhikr* in the Shaṭṭārīyah Sufi order, followed by the Sufi interpretation of the phrase *lā ilāha illallāh* and the intention of several non-obligatory but suggested prayers (pp. 121-135);

(i) a compilation of Quranic verses called *ayat limalas* (fifteen verses) and other prayers written in Arabic: the opening line reads as follows: *punika ayat limalas ing jeroning Quran telung puluh juz* (pp. 136-142), *al-ism al-a'ẓam*, *tawaṣṣul* guidelines, *al-asmā' al-ḥusná*, *du'ā nūrbuwat* (pp. 142-160);

(j) a summary of the chronicle of Java, called *Cariosipun Nusa Jawi* and *Babad Tanah Jawi*, from the early Majapahit and Pajajaran eras to the Yogyakarta and Surakarta kingdoms in the eighteenth century (pp. 161-173). The dates of certain events and the names of rulers are noted. The final name mentioned is Kanjeng Gusti Pangeran Adipati Arya Prabuwijaya, who was probably the son of Mangkunegara I (1725-1795). Certain parts of the text read as follows: *penget cariosipun nusa jawi* (p. 161) and *penget babad ing tanah jawi* (p. 164);

(k) a genealogy of the Javanese rulers of Surakarta that go back to the Prophet Adam (pp. 161-179): the first line reads as follows: *punika urutipun sajarah ingkang panengen ingkang anedakaaken ratuning tanah jawi*. The last ruler mentioned is Kanjeng Susuhunan Pakubuwana IX (1830-1893) with his children. The colophon reads as follows: *jumat wage tanggal kaping wolu wulan Zulhijjah tahun Zay ongka 1806* (1877);

(l) a compilation of family genealogies of Javanese elites (pp. 180-183): this includes genealogies of the following: Javanese elites in Metahun and Caruban (*punika sajarah Metahun ingkang dumawa dateng Caruban*) (pp. 180-182); Pangeran Mangkubumi (*punika sajarah dipunawiti saking Kanjeng Pangeran Mangkubumi ingkang rayi Panembahan Senapati*) (p. 183); Kyai Ageng Mirah (*punika kasebut malih bab sajarahipun Kyai Ajeng Mirah*) (p. 185); Raden Behi Cawikrama (*punika sajarah luluhuripun Raden Behi Cawikrama*) (pp. 185-186); Haji Abdurrahman of Tegalreja (*punika sajarah luluhuripun Tuan Haji Abdurrahman ing padukuhan Tegalreja…dusun Samen distrik Gorang Gareng Kabupaten Magetan*) (pp. 186-187); and Kanjeng Pangeran Kolonel Basah Prawiradireja (p. 187);

(m) a version of a table of contents, titled *punika carios duk zaman dihin* (pp. 188-189 and 191-192), followed by the Javanese and Dutch calendars, titled *punika tahun Jawa lan tahun Walanda* (p. 190 and pp. 193-196). The misplaced pages were probably lost when this copy was arranged.

The following is the complete text of the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of Raden Behi Wigyawinata, Caruban Madiun:

> *Bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥim, utawi ikilah nukil saking kitab Mamlūkah, anyatakaken ing dalem turune dadalan tarekat Syatari ingkang tedhak saking Kanjeng Rasulullah ṣallallāhu ʻalayhi wa-sallama*
> *maring Sayyidinā' Ālī ingkang putera Abī Ṭālib raḍiyallāhu ʻanhu*
> *lan iya iku Sayyidinā ' Ālī amuruk maring ingkang putera Sayyidinā Ḥasan al-shahīd*
> *lan iya tumurun- tumurun amuruk maring ingkang putera Sayyidinā Zayn al-ʻAbidīn*
> *amuruk maring Imām Muḥammad Bāqir*
> *amuruk maring rūḥaniyah Imām Ja'far Ṣidīq*
> *amuruk maring rūḥaniyah Sulṭān ʻĀrifīn b. Abī Yazīd al-Sulṭān*
> *amuruk maring Shaykh Muḥammad Maghrib*
> *amuruk maring Shaykh ʻArbi Yazīd al-ʻAshiqi*
> *amuruk maring Quṭub al-Muẓaffar Mawlanā Rūmi Ṭawasi*
> *amuruk Quṭub Abī Ḥasan al-Ḥarqāni*
> *amuruk maring Shaykh Ḥudqalī Māwar al-Nahāri*
> *amuruk maring Sayyidinā Muḥammad ʻĀshiq*
> *amuruk maring Sayyidinā Muḥammad ʻĀrif*
> *amuruk maring Shaykh ʻAbdullāh al-Shaṭṭārī*
> *amuruk maring Shaykh Hidayatullāh Saramat*
> *amuruk maring Shaykh Haji Huḍurī*

amuruk maring Sayyidinā Muḥammad Ghawth kang putera Sayyid Ḥaṭr al-Dīn
amuruk maring Sayyid Wajh al-Dīn ingkang Bangsa Malwī
amuruk maring Sayyid Ṣibghatullāh kang putera Sayyid Rūḥullāh
amuruk maring Sayyid Abī Muwāhib 'Abdullāh Aḥmad kang putera 'Alī kang bangsa 'Abbās ing negeri Shanwī
amuruk maring Shaykh Muḥammad kang putera Muḥammad ing negara Madinah, kang masyhur kelawan Shaykh Muḥammad Qishāsh
amuruk maring Shaykh 'Abd al-Ra'ūf kang putera 'Alī kang bangsa Shaykh Hamzah Fansuri negara <Singkil>[1]
amuruk maring Shaykh Haji 'Abd al-Muḥyī Karang Desa Karang padhukuhan Saparwadi
amuruk kang putera Kyai Mas Bagus Dalem ing Bojong Desa Karang padhukuhan Saparwadi
amuruk maring kang putera Kyai Mas Bagus Muhyi ing Desa Karang padhukuhan Saparwadi
amuruk maring kang putera Kyai Murshada ing negari Surakarta
amuruk maring kang putera Kyai Bagus Mustahal ing negari Pacitan
amuruk maring kang putera Kyai Aḥmad ing negari Pacitan
lan iya iku amuruk maring ingkang putera Tuan Haji 'Abdurraḥmān ing Desa Samen Tegalreja negari Magetan
lan iya iku amuruk maring ingkang putera murid Raden Behi Wigyawinata Palang Desa Kayo distrik Caruban Negara Madiun
anadene awit tarik<at> Shattari iki turun tumurun tumedhak saking Kanjeng Rasulullah tumeka wekasane murid Raden Behi Wigyawinata iku patang puluh loro
ingkang punika muga-muga Gusti Allah lan Kanjeng Rasulullah, lan guru-guru, gurune guru, sapendhuwure kabeh atarima pitulung rahmat dumeteng wekasane murid awit dunya tumeka akhirat
murid kinon padha ngelakonana saking berkahe guru-guru kabeh aja pegat anggenira anglakoni zikir, supaya aja pegot rahmate Allah lan syufa'ate Kanjeng Rasulullah maring anak putu murid sumedayane, insya Allah taala.

9. Silsilah of Kyai Sohibul bin Kyai Ikraman Wirarangan, Kuningan, West Java

The following is the only Sundanese Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah manuscript available for the present study that originated from Kuningan, West Java. The most important Shaṭṭārīyah figure in this region was Kyai Hasan Maolani (1779-1874) from Lengkong. Fortunately, owing to several rare Dutch sources, there is a description, although limited, regarding Kyai Hasan Maolani's activities as a prominent and influential leader in the Pesantren

[1] The text includes lacuna.

Lengkong during the latter half of the nineteenth century. For instance, Laffan writes the following regarding Jan Isaäc van Sevenhoven's personal report on Kyai Hasan Maolani's pesantren:

> By mid-century, and in Central (*sic.*) Java in particular, teachers such as Hasan Mawlani (alias Kyai Lengkong) and his student Nur Hakim had managed to generate substantial followings. The former, whose pesantren lay in the vicinity of Kedu, in Kuningan, seems to have had particularly harsh methods of instructing his students. According to Jan Isaäc van Sevenhoven (d. 1841), who visited his pesantren in 1839, Kyai Lengkong urged the students to eat and sleep at subsistence levels. They also spent much of their time lying on their stomachs reading texts by the light that entered through small hatches in the walls of their communal rooms. (Laffan 2011:51. See also Sevenhoven 1839:350-351).

Kyai Hasan Maolani attracted many students and followers, not only from those around Kuningan but also the sons of elite Javanese from as far as Surabaya. Besides Shaṭṭārīyah, he also developed the Akmaliyah Sufi order in Cirebon, which Ricklefs portrays as part of the Messianic protest movements in Java (Ricklefs 2007:47). Kyai Hasan Maolani received significant peasant support and was regarded as dangerous by the colonial government, which exiled him to Manado in 1842, before he was moved to Tondano, North Sulawesi, where he died on April 29, 1874 (Drewes 1925:10-18).

Regarding Kyai Sohibul b. Kyai Ikraman of Wirarangan, the owner of this silsilah, we have no satisfactory information thus far, except that he came from Wirarangan, a neighboring area of Lengkong. We may assume that he was one of the *santri*s in the second half of the twentieth century who studied in the old Pesantren Lengkong and was initiated into the Shaṭṭārīyah order by a descendant of Kyai Hasan Maolani, Kyai Haji Ahmad Junaidi.

As can be seen below, Kyai Junaidi's silsilah goes back through his father Kyai Haji Muhammad Idrus, who, in turn, was initiated by his father, Kyai Muhammad Absari, who was initiated by Kyai Hasan Maolani, who was initiated by Kyai Hasan Arjain Raja Galuh Cirebon, who was initiated by Kyai Haji Soleh, who was initiated by Haji Muhammad Hasanuddin Karang Saparwadi, who was initiated by 'Abd al-Muḥyī Karang Saparwadi.

Kyai Sohibul's Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah is found in a relatively contemporary Sundanese manuscript, *Tuturunan Tarekat Syatariyah*, as described below.

Description of MS Tuturunan Tarekat Syatariyah

This manuscript, written in Pegon Sundanese, is 24 × 19 cm and includes 29 pages, 11 lines per page, and black ink. It is a type of administrative book from the colonial era and contains a *dā'irah* of the Shaṭṭārīyah *dhikr* on p. 11. This manuscript belonged to H. M. Harun, BA (1925-2009) from Kuningan, a descendant of Kyai Hasan Maolani who claimed to have received his Shaṭṭārīyah *ijazah* from Kyai Haji Ahmad Junaidi, whose name is mentioned in the silsilah.

This manuscript consists of the following texts:

(a) *Tuturunan Tarékat Syatariyah*: a Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of Kyai Sohibul b. Kyai Ikraman of Wirarangan. The opening lines read as follows: *…Ieu tulisan mertélakeun tuturunan Tarékat Syatariyah anu diturunkeun ti Gusti Allah ta'ālá…* (pp. 1-3). The silsilah is followed by guidelines for *dhikr* and tawaṣṣul to be recited by especially asking a *barakah* from the *murshid* (*guru*) or *murshid's* teacher (*guruna guru*) (pp. 3-6);

(b) *Bab zikir*: a detailed explanation regarding the ethics of *dhikr*, its essence and advantages, and the four categories of *murīd* with their distinct methods of *dhikr*. In addition, the text encourages one to follow the four Sufi paths of *sharī'ah*, *ṭarīqah*, *ḥaqīqah*, and *ma'rifah* (pp. 7-29).

The following is the text of the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of Kyai Sohibul b. Kyai Ikraman, Wirarangan, Kuningan of West Java:

> *Bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm. Ieu tulisan mertélakeun tuturunan Tarékat Syatariyah anu diturunkeun ti Gusti Allah ta'ālá ka Malaikat Jabra'il tuluy muruk ka gusti Rasulullah ṣallallāh 'alayhi wa-sallam*
> *tuluy muruk ka Sayyidina 'Alī putera Abī Ṭālib*
> *tuluy muruk ka Sayyidina Ḥusayn shahīd*
> *tuluy ka Sayyidina Zayn al-'Ābidīn*
> *tuluy muruk ka Imām Muḥammad Bāqir*
> *tuluy muruk ka Imām Ja'far Ṣādiq*
> *tuluy muruk ka ruhaniyah Sulṭān al-'Ārifīn Abī Yazīd al- Bisṭāmī*
> *tuluy muruk ka Shaykh Muḥammad Maghrib*
> *tuluy muruk ka Shaykh 'Arabī Yazīd al-'Ishqī*
> *tuluy muruk ka Quṭb Abī al-Ḥasan al-Ḥarqānī*
> *tuluy muruk ka Shaykh Ḥudaqulī mā warā'a al-naharī*
> *tuluy muruk ka Sayyid Muḥammad 'Āshiq*
> *tuluy muruk ka Sayyid Muḥammad 'Ārif*
> *tuluy muruk ka Shaykh 'Abd Allāh al-Shaṭṭārī*
> *tuluy muruk ka Shaykh Hidāyatullāh al-Sarmastī*

tuluy muruk ka Shaykh Ḥaji Ḥuḍūrī
tuluy muruk ka Sayyid[1] Muḥammad Ghawth putera Sayyid Ḥaṭīr al-Dīn
tuluy muruk ka Sayyid Ṣibghatullāh putera Sayyid Rūḥullāh
tuluy muruk ka Sayyidinā Abī Muwāhib ʻAbdullāh Aḥmad putera ʻAlī bangsa ʻAbbās urang nagara Sanāwī
tuluy muruk ka Shaykh Aḥmad urang nagara Madinah anu dimasyhurkeun ku Shaykh Aḥmad Qushāshi
tuluy muruk ka Shaykh ʻAbd al-Raʼūf putera Ali bangsa Shaykh Hamzah Fansuri urang nagara Singkil
tuluy muruk ka Shaykh ʻAbd al-Muḥyī urang Desa Karang, kampung Saparwadi
tuluy muruk ka Shaykh Haji Muhammad Hasanuddin urang Desa Karang Kampung Saparwadi
tuluy muruk ka Kyai Haji Soleh urang Desa Nagara
tuluy muruk[2] ka Kyai Hasan Arjain urang Desa Raja Galuh Nagara Cirebon
tuluy muruk ka Kyai Hasan Maolani urang Desa Lengkong Nagara Kuningan
tuluy muruk ka puterana nami Kyai Haji Muhammad Absari Desa Lengkong Nagara Kuningan
tuluy muruk ka puterana nami Kyai Haji Muhammad Idrus Desa Lengkong Nagara Kuningan
tuluy muruk ka puterana nami Kyai Haji Ahmad Junaidi Desa Lengkong Nagara Kuningan
tuluy muruk ka Kyai Sohibul putera Kyai Ikraman urang Kampung Wirarangan Kabupaten Kuningan.

Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah in Batavia

This section focuses on four manuscripts in Javanese-influenced Malay, which contain four Shaṭṭārīyah silsilahs of students in Batavia from the late eighteenth century to the second half of the nineteenth century. The central figure in this network is still Shaykh ʻAbd al-Muḥyī from Karang, Saparwadi. The most recent names mentioned in these silsilahs, according to their levels of studentship, are as follows: Khatib Saʼid Mataraman; Encik Salihin Batawiyah Mataraman; Anak Tung and Baba Jainan Pasar Senen; and Anak b. Mandor Syafiʼi, Kemayoran.

1. Silsilah of Khatib Saʼid, Mataraman Batavia

Khatib Saʼid al-Batawiyah was from one of the oldest generations of Shaṭṭārīyah followers in Batavia. He probably lived no later than the first half of

[1] The text includes the word *ṣibghat* following this word, but it is crossed out.

[2] This word is inserted in the marginal note, indicating a correction.

the nineteenth century. He came from Mataraman (currently known as Matraman), whose line of authority goes back to 'Abd al-Muḥyī Pamijahan through Tuan Haji Nūr Aḥmad of Kepatihan Tegal in West Java, through Panembahan Mas Nida Muḥammad Muḥyi Karang Saparwadi, through Tuan Shaykh Haji Abdullah Karang Saparwadi. However, there is insufficient information regarding Sa'id's life and career.[1] MS. Jav.77[2] is the only source to date that mentions his name as *Khatib Sa'id Mataraman kampung Batawiyah negerinya* (p. 31).

Snouck Hurgronje mentions someone named Sa'id, the son of Shaykh Juneid, a great Batavian Jawi *ulama* in Mecca who taught Arabic grammar and law in his house to students from Batavia, and probably to other Jawah (i.e., from Bali and Sumbawa) who used Malay as a scientific language (Snouck Hurgronje 1970, IV: The Jāwah, 262-263). This Sa'id, however, died at the end of the nineteenth century, a few years before 1880, at the young age of about 45, after helping his father as a teacher in Mecca.

Another similar name, Hadji Sa'idi in Batavia, is found in a note of the final folio of the *Itḥāf al-dhakī* manuscript copy Cod. Or. 7050 from the Leiden University Library Collection, which reads as follows: *…copie van No. 1180 (volgn. 684) der India Office Library at-Tuhfah al-mursalah met commentaar: Gecopieerd door Hadji Sa'idi, Batavia Maart '92….*[3] The words *Maart '92* refers to March 1892, when Hadji Sa'idi probably copied the manuscript Cod. Or. 7050 in Batavia.

I believe that neither of the abovementioned individuals refers to Khatib Sa'id, since the colophon of this manuscript confirmed 1790 as the copy date, almost 100 years earlier than the dates mentioned above (1880 and 1892). Further research and investigation are required to determine whether this scattered data correlate with one another and to identify Khatib Sa'id of Mataraman.

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[1] In terms of the examples of 'Abd al-Muḥyī's more verifiable silsilahs in Java, see (Laffan 2011, 35–6).

[2] This manuscript has been described as IOL Jav. 77 (IO 2878) by Ricklefs and Voorhoeve 1977:70. According to personal communication with Annabel Teh Gallop, all references in Ricklefs and Voorhoeve to IOL Jav should be MSS. Jav. today, (email November 12, 2012).

[3] For a detailed description of the content of this manuscript, see Fathurahman 2012:34.

Description of MS Jav.77

This manuscript, described by Ricklefs and Voorhoeve (1977:70), is 29 × 20 cm and includes many blank pages, with only 51 bearing writing; Javanese paper of dluwang; numbered in pages and not folios; and 15 lines per page. It is written in a mixture of Malay and Javanese, and there are several torn pages, with others damaged, at the beginning. The colophon indicates the copy date, which reads as follows: *ini hijrah Nabi ṣallallāhu 'alayh wa-sallama seribu kalih atus lima tahun kutika tahun wawu*, which refers to 1205 AH (1790 AD). The beginning of the text is *al-Samarqandīyah*, as Ricklefs and Voorhoeve (1977:70) identify, or *Bayān 'aqīdat al-uṣūl* by Abū al-Laith Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm al-Samarqandī (Voorhoeve 1957:44), an Arabic theological text with an interlinear Javanese translations. Khatib Sa'id Mataraman's Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah is found on pp. 30-31.

The Javanese-influenced Malay Text of the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of Khatib Sa'id Batawiyah, Mataraman

First of all, it is important to reiterate that a difference between the Malay and Javanese silsilah texts is the sequence of names mentioned in the silsilah. In the Malay tradition, the first name is usually that of the owner of the silsilah, and then it goes back to the Prophet Muḥammad through his/her masters. In the Javanese version, the first name mentioned is that of the Prophet Muḥammad, and then it goes back to the owner of the silsilah through his/her Sufi masters.

Some Betawi silsilah texts, as shown below, appear to include distinct characteristics regarding language and structure. Primarily written in Malay, with several Javanese expressions (*yang tedhak dari Rasulullāh, …mudah-mudahan angasihi ingiya*), the texts follow the Javanese sequence, in which the Prophet is mentioned before the owner of the silsilah.

Such a characteristic was probably influenced by the fact that the owners of the silsilah, Khatib Sa'id and Encik Salihin in these cases, are Malay Batavians who were initiated into the Shaṭṭārīyah order by their Javanese teacher, Tuan Haji Nur Ahmad from Tegal, Kepatihan, Central Java.

Regarding Khatib Sa'id's silsilah, it is corrupt since it omitted several names that should have been included. However, I have established the names of those who were omitted after comparing the text with other silsilahs, especially MS Jav.50 from the same collection, which bore the

closest resemblance. The following is the complete text of the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of *Khatib Sa'id Batawiyah, Mataraman*:

> *Bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm, bermula inilah kitab pada manyatakaken turun-turun jalan Shaṭṭārīyah yang tedhak dari Rasulullāh ṣallallāh 'alayh wa-sallama*[1]
> *kepada Sayyidinā 'Alī yang anak Abī Ṭālib raḍiyallāhu 'anhu*
> *<dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada*[2] *Sayyidinā Ḥusayn al-Shahīd*
> *dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Sayyidinā Zayn al-'Ābidīn*
> *dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Imām Muḥammad Bāqir>*[3]
> *dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada rūḥānīyah Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq*
> *dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada rūḥānīyah Sulṭān 'Ārifīn Abī al-Busṭāmī*
> *<dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Shaykh Muḥammad Maghrib>*[4]
> *dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Shaykh 'Arbī al-'Ishqī*
> *dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Quṭub Abū Muzfarī*
> *<dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Quṭub Abī Ḥasan al-Ḥarqāni>*[5]
> *dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Shaykh Ḥadāqulī Māwara al-Nahāri*
> *<dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Shaykh Muḥammad 'Āshiq*
> *dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Shaykh Muḥammad 'Ārif*
> *dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Shaykh 'Abdullāh al-Shaṭṭārī*
> *dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Imām Qāḍi Shaṭṭārī*
> *dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Shaykh Hidayatullāh Sarmasta>*[6]
> *dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Shaykh Haji Ḥuḍurī*
> *dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Shaykh Muḥammad Ghawth yang anak Sayyid Khaṭīr al-Dīn*
> *dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Sayyid Wajīh al-Dīn yang bangsa 'Uluwī*
> *dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada <Sayyid Ṣibghatullāh>*[7] I
> *dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Sayyidinā Abī Muwāhib 'Abdullāh Aḥmad yang anak 'Alī bangsa dengan Shanāwī negrinya*
> *dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Shaykh Aḥmad yang anak Muḥammad dengan Madinah negrinya yang masyhur dengan Shaykh Aḥmad Qusāsī*

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1. Eng.: "In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful, here is a book on the silsilah of the Shaṭṭārīyah order from the Prophet, peace be upon him."
2. Eng.: "he, in turn, teaches."
3. This part is omitted from the text but is found in MSS. Jav. 50.
4. This part is omitted from the text but is found in MSS. Jav. 50.
5. This part is omitted from both this MSS. Jav. 77 and MSS. Jav. 50; the majority of Shaṭṭārīyah silsilahs mention Quṭub Abī Ḥasan al-Ḥarqāni instead.
6. This part is omitted from both MSS.Jav. 50 and MSS. Jav. 77, except that *dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Shaykh 'Abdullāh al-Shaṭṭārī* and *dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Shaykh Hidayatullāh Sarmasta* are found in MSS. Jav. 50.
7. The text: *Sayyid Sayyid Ṣibghatullāh.*

dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Shaykh Tuan Haji ʻAbd al-Raʼūf anak ʻAlī bangsa Shaykh Hamzah Fanṣūr dengan Singkil negaranya namanya
dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Tuan Shaykh Haji ʻAbd al-Muḥyī dengan Karang kampungnya dan dengan Saparwadi padukuhannya
dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada yang putera Tuan Shaykh Haji Abdullah dengan Karang kampungnya dengan Saparwadi padukuhannya
dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Tuan Panembahan Mas Nida Muhammad Muhyi[1] *dengan Karang kampungnya dan Saparwadi padukuhannya*
dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Tuan Haji Nūr Aḥmad dengan Tegil[2] *negerinya Kepatihan kampungnya*
dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Khatib Saʼid Mataraman kampung Batawiyah negerinya
ini hijrah Nabi ṣallallāhu ʻalayh wa-sallama seribu kalih atus lima tahun kutika tahun wawu[3]
yang mudah-mudahan angasihi ingiya Allah taala dan dunya sampai akhirat.[4]

2. Silsilah of Encik Salihin Batawiyah, Mataraman Batavia

The next Batavia *ulama*, whose Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah goes back to ʻAbd al-Muḥyī and then to ʻAbd al-Raʼūf through the same line as that of Khatib Saʼid, is Encik Salihin, also from Mataraman. In addition, he was probably also his contemporary. Unlike that in MS. Jav.77, Tuan Haji Nūr Aḥmad's home was not written as Tegil, then Ricklefs and Voorhoeve (1977:65) spell it as Tegal. His Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah is found on ff. 203r-204v in MS Jav.50 from the British Library Collection.

Description of MS Jav.50

The following description is based on data prepared by Ricklefs and Voorhoeve (1977:64-65), with several additions. This manuscript, written in mixed Javanese and Malay with some Arabic, is 21.5 × 12.5 cm and includes 215 folios in Western style, with each folio on the right side of a double-page spread; 10 lines per page; European paper; and black ink. Ricklefs and Voorhoeve (1977:64) refer to this manuscript as "a collection of Primbons,

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[1] The text: *Mas Nida Muhammad Mahya*.

[2] Probably refers to Tegal, one of the largest cities in the Tegal Regency, Central Java; see MSS. Jav. 50 for a comparison.

[3] Eng.: "this is 1205 of the Hijri year in Year *Wāw*."

[4] Eng.: "may Allah, the Highest, have mercy upon him in this world and the hereafter."

bound together to make a single volume," while I believe that considerable portions of the texts are regarding Sufism.

The initial parts of this manuscript consist of *Turun Jalan Shaṭṭārīyah* (chain of the Shaṭṭārīyah order), which mentions Khatib Sa'id in the silsilah (f. 7v), followed by prayers; *dairah*; a symbol of the "three fish with one head";[1] the ownership note of Baba Salihin kampung Mataraman; guidelines for *dhikr*; intentions of several voluntary (*sunnah*) prayers such as *awwābīn*, *tahajjud*, *ḍuhá*, *witr*, and various other texts (e.g., the state of a person on the verge of death [*sakarat al-mawt*]); and Arabic guidelines for rice cultivation.[2]

The Javanese-influenced Malay text of the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of Encik Salihin Batawiyah, Mataraman

Unlike other silsilahs of the Shaṭṭārīyah order, there are several well-known masters not found in the text. I have added them into the text with help from other versions of the silsilah.

The following is the complete text of this silsilah:

> *Bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm, bermula inilah kitab pada manyatakaken turun jalan Shaṭṭārīyah yang tedak dari Rasulullāh ṣallallāh 'alayhi wa-sallama*[3]
> *kepada Sayyidinā 'Alī yang anak Abī Ṭālib raḍiyallāhu 'anhu*
> *dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada*[4] *Sayyidinā Ḥusayn al-Shahīd*
> *dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Sayyidinā Zayn al-'Ābidīn*
> *dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Imām Muḥammad Bāqir*
> *dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Shaykh rūḥānīyah Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq*
> *dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada rūḥānīyah Sulṭān 'Ārifīn Abī Yazīd al-Busṭāmī*
> *dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Shaykh Muḥammad Maghrib*
> *dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Shaykh 'Arbī al-'Ishqī*
> *dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Quṭub Abū Muzfarī Mawlānā Ramī*
> *<dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Quṭub Abī Ḥasan al-Ḥarqāni>*[5]
> *iya itu mengajar iya kepada Shaykh Ḥadāqulī Māwara al-Nahāri*
> *<dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Shaykh Muḥammad 'Āshiq*

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1 For a brief discussion on the origins and meaning of the "three fish with one head," see Gallop [n.d].

2 For a more detailed description, see Ricklefs and Voorhoeve 1977:64–65.

3 Eng.: "In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful, here is a book on the silsilah of the Shaṭṭārīyah order from the Prophet, peace be upon him."

4 Eng.: "he, in turn, teaches."

5 This part is omitted from both MSS. Jav. 50 and MSS. Jav. 77.

dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Shaykh Muḥammad ʻĀrif>[1]
dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Shaykh ʻAbdullāh al-Shaṭṭārī
<*dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Imām Qāḍi Shaṭṭārī*>[2]
dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Shaykh Hidayatullāh Sarmasta
dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Shaykh Haji Ḥuḍurī
dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Sayyid Muḥammad Ghawth yang anak Sayyid Khaṭīr al-Dīn
<*dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Sayyid Wajīh al-Dīn*>[3] *yang abangsa ʻUluwī*
dan iya itu mengajar iya [*kepada Sayyid Ṣibghatullāh*][4] *yang anak Sayyid Rūḥullāh*
dan yaitu mengajar kepada Sayyidinā Abī Muwāhib ʻAbdullāh Aḥmad yang anak ʻAlī yang bangsa ʻAbbās Aḥmad ing Shanawī negrinya
dan yaitu mengajar kepada Shaykh Aḥmad yang anak Muḥammad di Madinah negrinya namanya yang masyhur dengan Shaykh Aḥmad Qushāshī
dan yaitu mengajar iya kepada Shaykh ʻAbd al-Raʼūf yang anak ʻAlī yang bangsa Shaykh Hamzah Fanṣūr dengan Singkil negrinya
dan yaitu mengajar kepada Shaykh Haji ʻAbd al-Muḥyī di Karang kampungnya dengan Saparwadi kampungnya
dan yaitu mengajar iya kepada yang putera Shaykh Haji Abdullah di Karang kampungnya dengan Saparwadi kampungnya
dan yaitu mengajar iya kepada cucunya Panembahan Mas Nida Muhammad Muhyi[5] *dengan Karang kampungnya dengan Saparwadi kampungnya*
dan iya itu mengajar kepada Tuan Haji Nūr Aḥmad Tegil negerinya Kepatihan kampungnya
dan iya itu mengajar iya kepada Encik Ṣāliḥīn Batawiyah negerinya Mataraman kampungnya
yang mudah-mudahan angasihi ingiya Allah taala dari dunya sampai akhirat.[6]

3. Silsilah of Anak Tung and Baba Jainan, Pasar Senen Batavia

Besides Khatib Sa'id and Encik Salihin, there were two other Batavian *ulama*, but through different teachers: Anak Tung and Baba Jainan, both from Kampung Pasar Senen Sungai Baru. As can be seen below, the chain of authority of Kyai Santari Hurip goes back to ʻAbd al-Raʼūf in Aceh through the following series of Karang Saparwadi *ulama*: Kyai Mas Alida Muḥammad, who studied under Kyai Mas Nida Muhammad Muhyiddin, who

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1 This part is omitted from both MSS. Jav. 50 and MSS. Jav. 77.
2 This part is omitted from both MSS. Jav. 50 and MSS. Jav. 77.
3 This part is omitted from the text but is found in MSS. Jav. 77.
4 The text: *kepada iya Sayyid Ṣibghat kepada Sayyid Ṣibghatullāh*.
5 The text: *Mahya*.
6 Eng.: "may Allah, the Highest, bless him in this world and the hereafter."

studied under Haji Abdullah, who studied under Haji ʻAbd al-Muḥyī al-Din. Considering their names and titles (Baba), Anak Tung and Baba Jainan were probably Batavian Chinese Muslims, who were well known as *Selam* or *Sitlam* people (Salmon 2010, 44).

The Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of Anak Tung and Baba Jainan is found on ff. 2v-3v in MS Cod. Or. 7274 from the Leiden University Library Collection.

Description of Cod. Or. 7274

This manuscript, written in Malay, is 26.5 × 20.5 cm. Furthermore, it is mostly vocalized and includes 23 folios, with the last being blank; 13 lines per page; European paper; watermark 'VRYHEID', with a small tree above with C & I Honig (cf. Voorn no. 112); and black ink with red rubrics (Iskandar 1999:397). Shelfmark and Snouck Hurgronje's bequest note is present on the back of the front cover; it reads as follows: *Cod. Or. 7274 Legaat Prof. Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje 1936, R. Univ. Bibliotheek Leiden*.

The texts in this manuscript can be divided into two main parts:

(a) The first part (ff. 2v-15v) begins with the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah, starting from the Prophet Muḥammad and ending with Anak Tung and Baba Jainan (ff. 2v-3v). The opening words read as follows: *bermula inilah kitab di dalam menyatakan turun-turunan perjalanan Shaṭṭārīyah…* (here is a book on the silsilah of the Shaṭṭārīyah order). This silsilah is then followed by explanations on the intentions of several voluntary (*sunnah*) prayers that should be conducted by *sāliks* (those who follows Sufism), such as *awwābīn*, *tahajjud*, *ḍuhá*, *witr*; the intention of entering the order; the invocation (*dhikr*) after praying; the requirements of performing *dhikr* in the Shaṭṭārīyah order; the category of the followers of the path (*murīd*); and the essence of prayer according to the Shafiʻī Islamic school (*madhhab*). The end reads as follows: *inilah hakikat sembahyang perkataannya Imam Syafi'i Muhammad anak Idris radiyallahu 'anhu* (here is the essence of prayer according to *Imam Syafi'i Muhammad anak Idris,* may Allah be pleased with him). This name refers to a Muslim jurist, Abū ʻAbdullāh Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfiʻī (150-204 AH/767-820 AD).

(b) The second part (ff. 15r-22v) consists of a question-and-answer treatise extracted and translated from an Arabic text: *Bayān al-shahādah* (the explanation of *shahādah*). The opening words read as follows: *inilah kitab pada menyatakan daripada sual dan jawab dikeluarkan daripada kitab Bayān*

shahādah namanya, dipindahkan daripada bahasa Arab kepada bahasa Jawi karena sukar orang yang bodo… (this is a book that deals with questions and answers extracted from the book *Bayān shahādah*, translated from Arabic into Malay because of the difficulties for common people).

The following is the complete Malay text of the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of Anak Tung and Baba Jainan, Kampung Pasar Senen:

> *Bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm,* ***bermula ini****lah kitab di dalam menyatakan turun-turunan perjalanan Shaṭṭārīyah turunan daripada Rasulullah ṣallallāhu ʻalayhi wa-sallama*[1]
> *menurunkan kepada*[2] *Sayyidinā ʻAlī yang anak Abī Ṭālib raḍiyallāh ʻanhu*
> ***dan yaitu*** *mengajari kepada anaknya,*[3] *Sayyidinā Ḥusayn yang syahid*
> ***dan yaitu*** *mengajari kepada anaknya, Sayyidinā Zayn al-ʻĀbidīn*
> ***dan yaitu*** *mengajari kepada Imām Muḥammad Bāqir*
> ***dan yaitu*** *mengajari kepada rūḥānīyah Imām Jaʻfar al-Ṣādiq*[4]
> ***dan yaitu*** *mengajari kepada rūḥānīyah Sulṭān ʻĀrifīn Abī Yazīd al-Busṭāmī*
> ***dan yaitu*** *mengajari kepada Shaykh Muḥammad Maghrib*
> ***dan yaitu*** *mengajari kepada Shaykh ʻArbī Yazīd al-ʻIshqī*[5]
> ***dan yaitu*** *mengajari kepada Quṭub Abū Muẓaffarī Mawlānā Rumī Ṭūsi*
> ***dan yaitu*** *mengajari kepada Quṭub Abī Ḥasan al-Ḥarqāni*
> ***dan yaitu*** *mengajari Shaykh Ḥudāqulī Māwari al-Nahāri*
> ***dan yaitu*** *mengajari kepada Sayyid Muḥammad ʻĀshiq*
> ***dan yaitu*** *mengajari kepada Sayyid Muḥammad ʻĀrif*
> ***dan yaitu*** *mengajari kepada Shaykh ʻAbdullāh al-Shaṭṭārī*
> ***dan yaitu*** *mengajari kepada Imām Qāḍī al-Shaṭṭāri*
> ***dan yaitu*** *mengajari kepada Shaykh Hidayatullāh Sarmastī*
> ***dan yaitu*** *mengajari kepada Shaykh Haji Ḥuḍūrī*
> ***dan yaitu*** *mengajari kepada Sayyid Muḥammad Ghawth yang anak Sayyid Khaṭīr*[6] *al-Dīn*
> ***dan yaitu*** *mengajari kepada Sayyid Wajīh al-Dīn yang bangsa ʻAlwī*
> ***dan yaitu*** *mengajari kepada Sayyid Ṣibghatullāh*[7] *yang anak Sayyid Rūḥullāh*

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1 Eng.: "In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful, here is a book on the silsilah of the Shaṭṭārīyah order from the Prophet, peace be upon him."

2 The text: *menurunkan dari kepada*; Eng.: "teaches."

3 Eng.: "and he, in turn, teaches his son."

4 The text: *al-Ṣidīq*.

5 The text: *al-ʻIsqī*.

6 The text: *Ḥaṭir*.

7 The text: *Ṣifatullāh*.

dan yaitu *mengajari kepada Sayyidinā Abī Muwāhib ʻAbdullāh Aḥmad yang bangsa ʻAbbās dari Shanāwī negrinya*
dan yaitu *mengajari kepada Shaykh Aḥmad yang anak Muḥammad dari Madinah negrinya namanya yang masyhur sekalian Shaykh Aḥmad Qushāshī*
dan yaitu *mengajari kepada Shaykh ʻAbd al-Raʻūf anak ʻAlī yang bangsa Shaykh Hamzah Fanṣūr dari Singkil negrinya*
dan yaitu *mengajari kepada Shaykh Haji ʻAbd al-Muḥyī al-Dīn dari Karang negrinya dan Saparwadi kampungnya*
dan yaitu *mengajari kepada anaknya, Shaykh Haji ʻAbd Allāh dari Karang negerinya Saparwadi kampungnya*
dan yaitu *mengajari kepada cucunya Kyai Mas Nida Muḥammad Muḥy al-Dīn dari Karang negrinya Saparwadi kampungnya*
dan yaitu *mengajari kepada anaknya yang saleh, namanya Kyai Mas Alida Muḥammad dari Karang negerinya dan Saparwadi kampungnya*
dan yaitu *mengajari kepada Kyai Santari Hurip dari Kampung Banten negerinya*
dan yaitu *mengajari kepada anak Tung sama dengan Baba Jainan di Kampung Pasar Senen Sungai Baru*
muga-muga selamat ditolong Allah subḥānahu[1] *wa-taʻālá dari dunia datang ke akhirat, amin.*[2]

4. Silsilah of Anak b. Mandor Syafi'i, Kemayoran Batavia

With regard to this study, the last 'Batawiyah' student who was initiated into the Shaṭṭārīyah Sufi order was a person whom the text referred to as *anak b. Mandor Syafi'i*. He came from Kampung Kemayoran and received his authority in the order from another Batawiyah teacher, Bapa Aliyah in Kebon Sirih. The chain of authority of Bapa Aliyah then goes back to Shaykh Haji ʻAbd al-Muḥyī through a series of Karang *ulama*, as can be seen below.

Description of Cod. Or.7424 (Mal.2195)

This is another manuscript from Snouck Hurgronje bequest in the Leiden University Library Collection.[3] Written in Javanese, Malay, and Sundanese, it is 21.5 × 17 cm and includes 40 pages, 16 lines per page, woven paper, and black ink. Iskandar (1999:445) assumes that this manuscript was probably a copy created by Muhammad Nurdin, but he does not provide further explanation.

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[1] The text: *subḥāna*.

[2] Eng.: "may Allah be Glorified and Exalted and save them in this world and the hereafter."

[3] See also Iskandar 1999:445 who spells the name of the silsilah's owner as Anak b. Mandur Sapingi.

A Dutch table of contents written by Snouck Hurgronje is found on the flyleaf. This manuscript contains brief and fragmented texts separated by *basmalah*, all in Javanese, unless identified as Malay or Sundanese. This manuscript consists of the following texts:

(a) names of twenty attributes of God with Javanese meanings (p. 1);
(b) *Fasal menyatakan syahadat* (a chapter explaining the statement of faith) (pp. 1-5), written in Malay: the ending text is marked by the word *tamat* (p. 5), but it continued to discuss the related issue of *ini fasal pada menyatakan rapal syahadat* (this chapter deals with the *shahādah* mantra) (pp. 5-7);
(c) *Martabat iman* (Levels of faith) (pp. 7-11): an explanation regarding the four levels of the faith: *iman hidayah*, *iman masum*, *iman mabu*, and *iman mabul*;
(d) *Punika syahadat salabar* (this is *shahādah salabar*): a Sundanese-Javanese explanation of *shahādah* (pp. 11-17), followed by a discussion on the same issue in Malay explaining the seven levels of *shahādah*: *shahādat sharī'at*; *shahādat ṭarīqat*; *shahādat ḥaqīqat*; *shahādat ma'rifat*; *shahādat bāṭin*; *shahādat gā'ib*; and the highest level, *shahādat barzakh* (pp. 17-19);
(e) *Fasal pada menyatakan kitab ini turunannya jalan Syatariyah* (a chapter concerning the genealogy of the Shaṭṭārīyah Sufi order) (pp. 19-22): written in Malay, a Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah goes back to anak b. Mandor Syafi'ī through a series of Batavia and Karang Pamijahan teachers. This is the only silsilah that names Pamijahan rather than Saparwadi as the location of Shaykh 'Abd al-Muḥyī and his students;
(f) a series of brief texts in Malay related to various issues such as *īmān*, *islām*, attributes of Allāh, *tafsīr fātiḥah* on the advantages of *sūrat al-fātiḥah*, and the philosophy regarding a number of *rakā'ah* in five prayers (pp. 22-25);
(g) various Javanese texts including *mantra*s and *papadang ati* that use Islamic mystical terms, along with the philosophy and mystical interpretation of *sūrat al-fātiḥah* (pp. 26-40). This part is assigned a new number (pp. 1-15).

The following is the complete Malay text of the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of Anak b. Mandor Syafi'i, Kemayoran, Batavia, with some scribal errors:

> *Bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm, fasal pada menyatakan kitab ini turunannya jalan Shaṭṭārīyah yang dekat kepada Rasulullah ṣallallāh 'alayh wa-sallama*

yang anak kepada b. Abī Ṭālib raḍiyallāh ʻanhu
dan ia itu mengajar kepada Sayyidinā Ḥusayn
dan yaitu mengajar kepada Sayyidinā Zayn al-ʻĀbidīn
dan ia yaitu mengajar ia kepada Imām[1] *Muḥammad Bāqir*
dan ia itu <mengajar>[2] *kepada Imām Jaʻfar al-Ṣadīq*
dan ia itu mengajar kepada rūḥānīyah Sulṭān ʻĀrifīn Abī Yazīd al-Busṭāmī
dan ia itu mengajar kepada Shaykh Muḥammad Maghrib
dan ia itu mengajar kepada ʻArbī Yazīd al-ʻIshqī[3]
dan ia itu mengajar kepada Quṭub Abū Muẓaffar[4] *Mawlānā Rumī Ṭūsi*
dan ia itu mengajar ia kepada Quṭub Abī Ḥusayn al-Ḥarqāni[5]
dan ia itu mengajar ia kepada Shaykh Ḥudāqulī Māwari al-Nahāri
dan ia itu mengajar ia kepada Sayyid[6] *Muḥammad ʻĀshiq*[7]
dan ia itu mengajar ia kepada Sayyid Muḥammad ʻĀrif[8]
dan ia itu mengajar ia kepada Shaykh ʻAbdullāh Shaṭṭārī
dan ia itu mengajar ia kepada Imām Qāḍī al-Shaṭṭārī
dan ia itu mengajar ia kepada Shaykh Hidayatullāh Sarmastī[9]
dan ia itu mengajar ia kepada Shaykh Haji Ḥuḍūrī
dan ia itu mengajar ia kepada Shaykh Muḥammad Ghawth[10] *yang anak b. Shaykh Sayyid Ḥaṭīr al-Dīn*
dan ia itu mengajar ia kepada Wajīh[11] *al-Dīn dan yang bangsa ʻAlwī*
dan ia itu mengajar ia kepada Sayyid Ṣibghatullāh[12] *b. Sayyid Rūḥullāh*
dan ia itu mengajar ia kepada Sayyidinā Abī Muwāhib[13] *ʻAbdullāh Aḥmad yang anak b. ʻAlī*[14] *yang bangsa ʻAbbās*[15] *di Shanāwī*[16] *negrinya*[17]

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1 *Imām* is written as *īmām*.
2 This word is not found in the text.
3 The text: *al-ʻIsqīn*.
4 The text: *Maṭāfūr*.
5 The text: *al-ʻĀḥarqāni*.
6 The text: *Shayyid*.
7 The text: *ʻĀsiq*.
8 The text: *ʻĀrifī*.
9 The text: *Sarmāti*.
10 The text: *Ghaws*.
11 The text: *Wajh*.
12 The text: *Ṣifatullāh*.
13 The text: *B. Muwāhī*.
14 The text: *ʻĀlī*.
15 The text: *ʻAbas*.
16 The text: *Sanawi*.
17 The text: *narginya*.

dan ia itu mengajar ia kepada Shaykh Aḥmad yang anak b. Muḥammad di Madinah negrinya yang masyhur dengan Shaykh Aḥmad Qushāshī[1]
dan ia itu mengajar ia kepada Shaykh 'Abd al-Ra'ūf yang b. 'Alī[2] *yang bangsa Hamzah Fansuri Singkil*[3] *negrinya itu*
dan ia itu mengajar ia kepada Shaykh Haji 'Abd al-Muḥyī di Karang dan kampungnya di Sukapura, negrinya di Pamijahan dan tempatnya
dan ia itu mengajar kepada anak b. Dalem Bojong di Karang kampungnya di Pamijahan tempatnya dan [*dan ia itu mengajar ia itu kepada anak b. Kyai Mas Bagus di Karang tempatnya di Pamijahan*][4] *kampungnya*
dan ia itu mengajar kepada Bagus Nurjadi di Ciyahur tempatnya negerinya di Karang
dan ia itu mengajar kepada anak b. Bagus Nurkadim di dalam negeri Sukapuasa[5] *asalnya itu dari Mandala dan tempatnya itu di Pamijahan*
maka ia itu datang ke negeri Batawiyah mengajar ia kepada Bapa Aliyah di tanahnya Mayor di Kebon Siri adanya
maka ia itu datang mengajar kepada anak b. Mandor Syafii yang ada tinggal[6] *di Kampung Kemayoran adanya itu sebelahnya kanan manung dari Bapa Aliyah sebelah udiknya di Kebon Siri adanya, tamat.*

Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah in the Lanao area of Mindanao

The discourse regarding the history of Islam in Southeast Asia cannot ignore Muslim communities in southern Philippines, such as in Mindanao and Sulu. The history of these Muslims is central to the historical development of the country as a whole. How Islam came to Mindanao and Sulu, however, may be a complex question that cannot be addressed by a single answer. There is no doubt that the Islamization of this area was carried out by Arab traders, Sufis, and missionaries, as was the case in other areas in Southeast Asia. In addition, international networks were developed between this area and the Middle East since these foreign Muslims usually followed the traditional trade routes from the Middle East, across the Indian Ocean, and into Southeast Asia (Federspiel 1998:346).

However, few historians have focused on reconstructing such networks and revealing the details of the development of the intellectual Islamic

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1 The text: *Qusāsi*.
2 The text: *'Ālī*.
3 The text: *Mingiwil*.
4 This part, inserted by a later owner of the mansucript, was written in blue ink.
5 Probably Sukapura.
6 The text: tinggal tinggal.

tradition in Mindanao. Even Azra's fascinating study (Azra 2004) on the networks and transmission of Islamic reformism from the Middle East to the archipelago during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries does not consider this region. This was most likely due to a lack of sufficient local sources.

A recent study on the collection of Islamic manuscripts in Mindanao has revealed that the Islamic Sufis played an important role in the development of Islam in southern Philippines (Fathurahman and Kawashima n.d.). Such development was usually associated with certain Sufi orders, especially the Shaṭṭārīyah and Naqshbandīyah, which established international networks both in the Middle East and other areas in the Malay world.

This section contains four Malay and Arabic manuscripts found in two collections in Marawi City in Lanao Der Sur, Mindanao: the Al-Imam As-Sadiq (A.S.) Library of Husayniyyah Karbala in Biaba-Damag and the Shiek Ahmad Basher Memorial Research Library in Matampay. While only three Shaṭṭārīyah followers can be identified as Maranao scholars, these manuscripts indicate the intellectual connection between the Lanao area of Mindanao, the Indonesian Malay world, and the Haramayn.

1. Silsilah of Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bansayānī, Mindanao, Southern Philippines

Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bansayānī could be regarded as proving that the Maranao Muslims of southern Philippines were active in the global network of Shaṭṭārīyah and Naqshbandīyah Sufi orders. This, in turn, links them to both the Haramayn and other areas in the Malay world. The text refers to him as *al-faqīr al-ḥaqīr Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn Amīr al-Qāḍī ilá balad al-Bansayānī*, indicating that he came from Bansayan in Lanao Del Sur, Mindanao. In addition, the title of *amīr al-qāḍī* attributed to him indicates that he was a *qāḍī* (judge) in the town of Bansayan. His is one of three names that can be confidently identified as that of a local *ulama* in the region who was active in the Shaṭṭārīyah and Naqshbandīyah networks. The others include 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qārī al-Tarākaī from Taraka and 'Abd al-Qahhār al-Balābagānī from Balabagan. Their names are found in the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah on ff. 26v-27r in B7 MS1.

As can be seen below, the silsilah of these Maranao *ulama* is different from that of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's line. Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bansayānī received

his *ijāzah* from Haji Muḥammad Ṭāhir (probably al-Marantawī, see (e) below), who, in turn, was initiated by Shaykh Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Madanī, who was initiated by his father, Shaykh Mulā Ibrāhīm (al-Kūrānī), who was initiated by Aḥmad al-Qushāshī.

Description of B7 MS1

This manuscript, written in Arabic and Malay (with fragments of Maranao), is 19 × 14 cm and includes 94 folios, 5-11 lines per page, European paper, a blue-grey paper cover, marginal writings on some pages, black ink with red rubrics, blue ink and blue pencil for some notes, and marginal writings on several pages. The ownership signature of Shaykh Muḥammad Sa'īd b. Imam Bayang, presented as an oval seal in blue ink, is found on f. 2r. Two more ownership notes are found (ff. 41v and 70v), and the one on f. 41v reads as follows: *ḥaqquhu ilá Shaykh Muḥammad Sa'īd b. Imam Bayang*.

This manuscript consists of the following texts:

(a) *Azimat*: a talisman to protect children from harm, comprising Arabic words and small geometric figures, followed by a Malay text that reads as follows: *Inilah azimat kanak-kanak peliharanya* (this is a talisman for protecting children). Several Maranao sentences are also included (f. 1r);

(b) *Ṭarīqat ahl al-sunnah wa-al-jamā'ah*: a theological work, written in Arabic with interlinear Malay translations, that explains the faith according to the theology of *ahl al-sunnah wa-al-jamā'ah*, which expounds the necessity to follow the footsteps of the early Muslims and the prophetic tradition both inwardly and outwardly and (ff. 2v-22v);

(c) *al-Salsilah* (sic) *al-ashrāf al-'alawī*, written in Arabic: a chain of spiritual lineage of the Alawi family (*al-Alawīyīn*) which belongs to al-Sharīf al-'Alawī al-Ḥusayn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, to whom the lineage of Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bansāyanī is connected through 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Ra'ūf. In turn, this lineage goes back to the Prophet Muḥammad. A total of 31 names are mentioned in this silsilah (ff. 22v-25r);

(d) *al-Salsilah* (sic) *sanad al-sādah al-Shaṭṭārīyah*, written in Arabic: a chain of spiritual lineage of the Shaṭṭārīyah order, starting from a local *ulama* in the Lanao area of Mindanao, Amīr al-Qāḍī Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bansayānī, and going back to the Prophet Muḥammad (ff. 25v-26r);

(e) *Sanad shajarat khilāfat al-mashāyikh al-Naqshbandīyah* (a chain of the authorities of the Naqshbandīyah Sufi order), written in Arabic: it starts

from Amīr al-Qāḍī Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bansayānī, who, in turn, studied with another Maranao *ulama*, Muḥammad Ṭāhir *fī balad* al-Marantawī, who studied with Shaykh Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Madanī, who studied with Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, who studied with Aḥmad al-Qushāshī. The split of the Shaṭṭārīyah and Naqshbandīyah *murshid*s begins after this final name (ff. 27v-29r);

(f) *Umm al-barāhin*: this is a principal work on Islamic theology written in Arabic, with interlinear Malay translations, by Abū ʻAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Walī al-Ṣāliḥ Yūsuf al-Sanūsī al-Mālikī al-Maghribī al-Tilimsānī (1437-1490). It was very popular throughout the Muslim world (ff. 1v-59r);

(g) an Arabic treatise on *waḥdat al-wujūd* (unity of being), with interlinear Malay translations: this work is considered to have been composed by an anonymous disciple of al-Shaykh Muḥammad ʻAbd al-Karīm al-Samanī al-Madanī (1718-1775), a great teacher in Medina, under whom many *Jāwī* (Muslims from the Malay world) students studied (ff. 60v-69v);

(h) *Asrār al-salāh*: an Arabic treatise, with interlinear Malay translations, that includes explanations on *nīyah* (intention) in performing *takbirat al-iḥrām* (the first saying of the phrase *Allāh Akbar* [God is Great] at the start of *salāt* [obligatory prayers]). The issue is discussed from the perspectives of both Islamic jurisprudence and Sufism (ff. 70v-88r);

(i) *Maṭālib al-sālikīn*: an Arabic Sufi treatise written by a Makassar *ulama*, Shaykh Yūsuf al-Makassārī (d. 1699). (ff. 89v-94v).

The following is the complete text of the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bansayānī, Lanao of Mindanao:

> ***Hadhihi al-salsilah sanad*** *al-sādah* ***al-Shaṭṭārīyah*** *wa-ittiṣālunā bihi* ***min Shaykh Haji ʻAbd al-Qahhār,***
> ***Wa-akhadhahā*** *al-faqīr al-ḥaqīr Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn Amīr al-Qāḍī ilá balad al-Bansayānī*
> *ʻan shaykhihi Haji Muḥammad Ṭāhir*
> ***Wa-akhadhahā*** *ʻan Shaykh Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Madanī*
> ***Wa-akhadhahā*** *ʻan Shaykh Mulā Ibrāhīm*
> ***Wa-akhadhahā*** *ʻan Shaykh Aḥmad al-Qushāshī*

Wa-huwa talaqqana[1] *al-faqīr Aḥmad al-madhkūr wa-ṣāfaḥa wa-labisa*[2] *wa-ṣaḥaba wa-akhadha al-Jawāhir al-khams wa-al-ʻulūm al-ẓāhirah wa-al-bāṭinah min wālidihi wa-Quṭb dāʼirah shāhidat al-ʻālam al-rabbānī al-munfarid fī awānihi bi-lā thāniya muradd al-kubrá ʻind al-nawāzili sayyidinā Abī al-mawāhib ʻAbd Allāh* ***Aḥmad b. ʻAlī*** *al-Qurshī al-ʻAbbāshī al-Shanawī ṭāba tharāhu*

Wa-huwa talaqqana *dhālika ʻan Sulṭān al-ʻārifīn billāh sayyidinā al-Sayyid* ***Ṣibghatullāh*** *b. al-Sayyid Rūḥ*

Wa-huwa *talaqqana dhālika min al-imām al-muqaddam Qudwat al-ʻulamāʼ al-aʻlām wa-mufīd al-ṭālibīn fī al-ʻilm al-khāṣṣ wa-al-ʻāmm sayyidinā* ***Wajīh al-Dīn*** *al-ʻAlawī*

Wa-huwa *akhadhahā ʻan al-Ghawth al-jāmiʻ lil-jawāmiʻ sayyidinā al-Sayyid* ***Muḥammad al-Ghawth*** *b. al-Sayyid Khaṭīr al-Dīn*

Wa-huwa akhadhahā ʻan Sayyidīnā Quṭub al-midār wa-Qudwat al-muqarrabīn wa-al-abrār al-mabrūr al-Shaykh ***Ḥaji Ḥuḍūrī*** *ṭāba tharāhu*

Wa-huwa akhadhahā *ʻan sayyidinā al-Shaykh* ***Hidāyatullāh Sarmasti***

Wa-huwa talaqqana[3] *min sayyidinā al-imām* ***Qāḍi al-Shaṭṭārī***

Wa-huwa talaqqana min al-Shaykh ***ʻAbdullāh al-Shaṭṭārī***

Wa-huwa talaqqana min sayyidī ***Muḥammad ʻĀrif***

Wa-huwa talaqqana min sayyidī ***Muḥammad ʻĀshiq***

Wa-huwa talaqqana min al-Shaykh ***Khadāqalī*** *al-Māwuri al-Nahrī*

Wa-huwa talaqqana min al-Quṭub ***Abū al-Ḥasan*** *al-Khirqanī*

Wa-huwa [talaqqana] min al-Shaykh Abū al-Muẓaffar Mawlānā Tarki al-Ṭūsī

Wa-huwa talaqqana min al-Shaykh al-aʻrabī ***Yazīd al-ʻIshqī***

Wa-huwa talaqqana min al-Shaykh ***Muḥammad al-Maghribī***

Wa-huwa talaqqana min rūḥānīyah Sulṭān al-ʻĀrifīn ***Abī Yazīd al-Busṭāmī***

Wa-huwa talaqqana min rūḥānīyah al-Imām ***Jaʻfar al-Ṣādiq***

Wa-huwa talaqqana min al-Imām ***Muḥammad al-Bāqir***

Wa-huwa talaqqana min al-Imām ***Zayn al-ʻĀbidīn***

Wa-huwa talaqqana min al-Imām Ḥusayn al-shahīd[4]

Wa-huwa talaqqana min al-Imām al-murtaḍá ***ʻĀlī*** *b. Abī Ṭālib al-riḍá raḍiyallāh ʻanh*

Wa-huwa talaqqana min al-nabī ṣallallāhu ʻalayh wa-sallama.

2. Silsilah of Encik Sirīn Awal b. Sirīn ʻAbd al-Ghanī, Khaṭīb Dāwūd b. Shams al-Dīn (Maranao?) and ʻAbdullāh b. ʻAbd al-Qahhār Banten

The following silsilah reveals the close links developed through the Shaṭṭārīyah network between the Islamic tradition in the Lanao area of

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[1] The text here and henceforth includes *tulaqqanu*, and occasionally *yulaqqanu*. However, I replace these terms with *talaqqana* in consideration of Arabic grammar.

[2] The text: *labasa*.

[3] The text: *yulaqqanu*.

[4] This line is located in the marginalia as a verified correction.

Mindanao on one hand and Banten and Cirebon on the other. The key figures here include Encik Sirīn Awal b. Sirīn ʻAbd al-Ghanī, Khaṭīb Dāwūd b. Shams al-Dīn, and ʻAbdullāh b. ʻAbd al-Qahhār Banten. Although the available sources do not confirm whether the first two were local Maranao ulama, the fact that the manuscript came from Marawi City in the Lanao area of Mindanao suggests that the Islamic tradition in the region had a close relationship with Banten of Java, from where ʻAbdullāh b. ʻAbd al-Qahhār al-Shaṭṭārī originated.

This silsilah confirms that Encik Sirīn Awal b. Sirīn ʻAbd al-Ghanī received his *ijāzah* in the Shaṭṭārīyah order from Khaṭīb Dāwūd b. Shams al-Dīn. However, the relationship between these two and ʻAbdullāh b. ʻAbd al-Qahhār is not clear since the text acknowledges him only as *syekh kita* (our shaykh): *…bahwasanya Syekh kita Syekh Haji ʻAbdullah b. ʻAbd al-Qahhār al-Shaṭṭārī al-Shāfiʻī Banten telah mengambil tariq al-Shaṭṭārī jalan kepada Allah….*

There are two copies of manuscripts containing the same silsilah of Encik Sirīn Awal b. Sirīn ʻAbd al-Ghanī, Khaṭīb Dāwūd b. Shams al-Dīn, and ʻAbdullāh b. ʻAbd al-Qahhār al-Shaṭṭārī, B1 M-2 and B1 M-3 from the Al-Imam As-Sadiq (A.S.) Library of Husayniyyah Karbala Collection in Biaba-Damag. Both manuscripts are describe below; however, as they do not significantly differ, only one version of the silsilah text is transcribed (B1 MS-1). This silsilah is similar to that of the Javanese version from Cirebon in which ʻAbdullāh b. ʻAbd al-Qahhār had a close relationship with Kanjeng Ratu Ibu, the mother of one of the rulers of the Cirebon Sultanate.

Description of B1 MS2

This manuscript, written mostly in Malay with some Arabic, is 23 × 16 cm and includes 36 folios; 10 lines per page; European paper; watermarks, including the crown and the words *ADREAAN ROGOT(?)*; a black leather cover; and black ink with red rubrics. The words *Sayyid al-maʻārif* are written as notes on the first two blank pages (ff. 1v and 2r), probably not by the scribe of the main text, in order to indicate the title. Although not the title of this manuscript, it refers to a work by Shaykh Iḥsān al-Dīn, *Sayyid al-maʻrifah*, which is quoted in the text (f. 25v).

A signature in blue ink at the end of the main text indicates Haji Muhammad Saʻid Munawarah as the owner of the manuscript (f. 34r). Illustrations are found on ff. 9v-10r, 12v-13v, and 14v, and the words inside

the circle (f. 2v) read as follows: *ta'līf shaykhinā al-Shaykh Ḥaji 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Qahhār al-Shaṭārī Banten* (composed by our teacher, Shaykh Ḥaji 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Qahhār al-Shaṭārī from Banten). The text appears to have been originally written by Shaykh Ḥaji 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Qahhār al-Shaṭārī and copied by a scribe whose name is not mentioned in the manuscript. In most cases, the scribe begins a section with the word *bermula* (to begin) and ends with the expression *wallāhu a'lam* (and Allāh knows best).

This manuscript consists of the following texts:

(a) *Silsilah Jalan Syatari*: a description of Encik Sirīn Awal b. Sirīn 'Abd al-Ghanī's Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah, which demonstrates a spiritual connection with 'Abdullāh b. 'Abd al-Qahhār al-Shaṭṭārī al-Shāfi'ī, as discussed above (ff. 2v-4r). The main text begins as follows: *fasal, pada menyatakan naiknya silsilah jalan Syatari daripada kita sekalian datang kepada Nabi kita Muḥammad ṣallallāhu 'allayhi wa-salāma*;

(b) a brief explanation of the philosophy of prayer from the Sufi perspective (ff. 4v-6r): the text reads as follows: *ammā ba'd fa-i'lam adapun kemudian daripada itu inilah fasal pada menyatakan pohon sembahyang* (Now then, know this is a chapter that explains the tree of prayers);

(c) four categories of *murīd* (a person who is committed to a teacher in the spiritual path of Sufism): *murīd mubtadī* (the beginner student), *murīd mutawaṣṣit* (the intermediate student), *murīd muntahī* (the advanced student), and *murīd kāmil mukammil* (the perfect and accomplished student) (ff. 6v-8r). In line with these categories, the author also addresses what he refers to as *bilangan kiblat empat* (the four directions): *kiblat majazi*, *kiblat umumiyah*, *kiblat hakiki*, and *kiblat al-sirri*;

(d) schematic drawings of Sufism, accompanied by explanations of the sacred words *lā ilāha illallāh* (There is no god but God), and the doctrine of *martabat tujuh* (seven grades) formulated by an Indian Sufi, Faḍl Allāh al-Hindī al-Burhānfūrī (d. 1620). The grades include *aḥadīyah*, *waḥdah*, *wāhidīyah*, *'ālam arwāḥ*, *'ālam mithāl*, *'ālam ajsām*, and *'ālam insān kāmil* (ff. 8v-25r);

(e) an explanation of theosophical teachings in Sufism, quoting Shaykh Iḥsān al-Dīn's *Sayyid al-ma'rifah* (ff. 25v-34r);

(f) Arabic prayers written in upside-down orientation to the main text. Presumably, this text was written by a different person, as the style of the script and penmanship are different (ff. 34v-36r).

Description of B1 MS3

This manuscript is 22 × 15.5 cm and includes 43 folios; 7-14 lines per page; European paper; watermarks, including the words *ROMANI T*.; a black paper cover; black ink with red rubrics; and illustrations on ff. 19v-20r and 22v-24v. The date 1336 AH (1917 AD) is found on the first page of the text (f. 2v), indicating the date of copying. The signature of Shaykh Muḥammad Sa'īd b. Imam Bayang is found on f. 7v in black ink and that of Shaykh Muḥammad Sa'īd is found on f. 10v in blue ink. The colophon on f. 41v states that this manuscript was completed on a Monday in Sha'bān (the eighth month of the Islamic calendar), with no year indicated.

This manuscript consists of the following texts:

(a) a brief explanation regarding the signs of death (*'alāmat al-mawt*), followed by an incomplete copy of *Bāb al-bayān fī sakarat al-mawt* along with its incomplete Malay translation. There is also an incomplete text of *Bayān al-alif*, which is an explanation of *alif*, the first letter of the Arabic alphabet, from the Sufi perspective (ff. 2v-8r);

(b) another copy of a Sufi treatise quoting Shaykh Iḥsān al-Dīn's *Sayyid al-ma'rifah* (see the description above) (ff. 8v-41v). The end of the text (f. 41v), includes an Arabic note with interlinear Malay translation, which was probably added by the scribe. It claims to be the Prophet's saying and reads as follows: *qāla al-nabī ṣallallāh 'alayhi wa-sallama, man naẓara ilá kitāb akhīhi al-muslim bi-ghayr idhnihi fa-ka annamā naẓara nāra Jahannam*. Its Malay translation reads as follows: *barangsiapa meniliki kepada kitab saudaranya Islam dengan tiada izin saudaranya, maka seolah-olah ia menilik neraka Jahannam* (those who peek at their fellow Muslim's book without his permission are equivalent to seeing Hell).

The following is the introduction and complete text of the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of Encik Sirīn Awal b. Sirīn 'Abd al-Ghanī, Khaṭīb Dāwūd b. Shams al-Dīn (Maranao?) and 'Abdullāh b. 'Abd al-Qahhār Banten:

> *Ta'līf shaykhinā al-Shaykh Ḥaji 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Qahhār al-Shaṭārī Banten, bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*
>
> ***Fasal*** *pada menyatakan naiknya silsilah jalan Shaṭṭārī daripada kita sekalian datang kepada Nabi kita* ***Muḥammad*** *ṣallallāhu 'alayh wa-sallama.*

Maka *Encik Sirīn Awal b. Sirīn ʻAbd al-Ghanī yang salih lagi ragib mengambil ṭarīq*[1] *al-Shaṭṭārī kepada Khaṭīb Dāwud b. Shams al-Dīn ʻafallāh ʻanhu*
bahwa*sanya Shaykh kita Haji ʻAbd Allāh b. ʻAbd al-Qahhār al-Shaṭṭārī al-Shāfiʻī Banten telah mengambil ṭarīq al-Shaṭṭārī jalan kepada Allah dan talqin zikir dengan baiʻat dan musafahah daripada Shaykh yang alim lagi arif billāh taʻālá yang bertapa lagi waraʻ*[2] *yaitu Shaykh kita* ***Imām*** *Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī anaknya Imām ʻAlī yang bangsa Ṭabarī di Mekah yang musharrafah*[3] *negerinya* ***dan*** *yaitu mengambil daripada Shaykh yang arif yang zahid, yaitu Shaykh ʻAbd al-Wahhāb anaknya Shaykh ʻAbd al-Ghānī yang bangsa Hindī*
dan *yaitu mengambil daripada Shaykh Ṣāliḥ Khaṭīb pada Qubsat al-Islām pada negeri Madinah*
dan *yaitu mengambil daripada Shaykh yang ʻālim yang bangsa rabbānī, yaitu Shaykh Aḥmad al-Qushāshī yang bangsa Anṣārī*
dan *yaitu mengambil daripada Shaykh yang arif lagi zahid, yaitu Shaykh Abī al-Mawāhib Shaykh Aḥmad anaknya ʻAlī Quraysh yang bangsa al-Shanawī*
dan *yaitu mengambil daripada Shaykh Sulṭān al-ʻārifīn Sayyid Ṣibghatullāh anaknya Sayyid Ruḥullāh*
dan *yaitu mengambil daripada Shaykh Qudwat al-ʻulamāʼ Sayyid Wajih al-Dīn al-ʻAlawī*
dan *yaitu mengambil daripada Shaykh Sayyid Muḥammad Ghawth*
dan *yaitu mengambil daripada Quṭb al-midār yaitu Shaykh Ḥāji Huḍūri*
dan *yaitu mengambil daripada Shaykh Hidāyatullāh Sarmasti*
dan *yaitu mengambil daripada Shaykh Imām Qāḍi al-Shaṭṭārī*
dan *yaitu mengambil daripada Shaykh ʻAbdullāh al-Shaṭṭārī yang punya ṭarīq al-Shaṭṭārī*
dan *yaitu mengambil daripada Shaykh Muḥammad ʻĀrif*
dan *yaitu mengambil daripada Sayyid Muḥammad ʻĀshiq*
dan *yaitu mengambil daripada Shaykh Khadāqalī Māʼwarā al-Nahārī*
dan *yaitu mengambil daripada Quṭb Abū al-Ḥasan al-Khirqanī*
dan *yaitu mengambil daripada Shaykh al-Muẓaffar Mawlanā Turkī Tūsī*
dan *yaitu mengambil daripada Shaykh ʻArabī Yazīd al-ʻIshqī*
dan *yaitu mengambil daripada Shaykh Muḥammad Maghrib*
dan *yaitu mengambil daripada Abī Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī*
dan *yaitu mengambil daripada Imām Jaʻfar Ṣādiq*
dan *yaitu mengambil daripada Imām Muḥammad Bāqir*
dan *yaitu mengambil daripada Imām Zayn al-ʻĀbidīn*
dan *yaitu mengambil daripada Imām Ḥusayn yang mati syahid*
dan *yaitu mengambil daripada Sayyidinā ʻĀlī karramallāh wajhahu*

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[1] The text in Bungkos 1 MS 3: *tarikat*.

[2] Ar.: piety.

[3] Ar.: sacred.

dan *yaitu mengambil daripada Nabi Saw.*
Intahá al-Simṭ al-majīd.[1]

3. Silsilah of Muḥammad As'ad

While this manuscript is found in the collection of Shiek Ahmad Basher Memorial Research Library in Matampay in Marawi City, the silsilah on ff. 398-399 does not mention any local students. It directly names Muḥammad As'ad b. al-Shaykh Muḥammad Sa'īd Ṭāhir al-Madanī, the member of al-Kūrānī's family who became the crucial link to the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah in Aceh, as discussed earlier. As indicated in the silsilah, he received his ijāzah in the Shaṭṭārīyah Sufi order from his grandfather, al-Shaykh Ibrāhīm, who, in turn, was initiated by Muḥammad Ṭāhir, the son of Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī. The remaining teachers mentioned here are shared with Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bansayānī's silsilah above.

Description of MS2

This manuscript, written in Arabic, Malay, and some Maranao, is 16 × 12 cm and includes 119 folios, 7-21 lines per page, local paper, no binding but a thick paper cover, and black ink with red rubrics. The ownership note in Maranao[2] (f. 31v) reads as follows: *Hādhihi kitab guru baladi Masiu awal wafat (miiyaguru) Shaykh Muhammad Salih kaduwa wafat shahidullah (miyaguru) anaknya (namanya) Ulal miyaguru anaknya (namanya) Amir miyaguru pada negeri Masiu. Giya i ki Maksud sii giya i kisorat sii wallāhu a'lam biṣṣawāb miyakapat kaa pidi <kaka qadi: erased> ya qadi sa Gapao Balindong…*, which may be translated as follows: "This *kitab* belonged to Guro of Masiu, who died first and who taught his son Shaykh Muhammad Salih, who died second as a martyr and who taught his son Ulal, who taught his son Amir, who taught at (?) Masiu this is……Qadi of Gapao Balindon.

This manuscript consists of the following texts:

(a) *Inilah talqin mati aqil baligh laki-laki atau perempuan*: this title is found on the head of the Arabic text with an interlinear Malay translation. It

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[1] The text: *Shimt al-majīd*, a Sufi treatise by Aḥmad al-Qushāshī containing the chain of spirituality for some Sufi orders and the ways of performing *dhikr*.

[2] The reading and translation of this Marano text was provided by Labi Riwarung, a lecturer at Mindanao State University (MSU) in Marawi City.

concerns prayers, some of them verses of the Holy Quran, to be recited following the death of a person (ff. 9v-11r);

(b) a compilation of fifteen verses of the Holy Quran known *Ayat Lima Belas* (fifteen verses), followed by Arabic prayers (ff. 9v-11r);

(c) an anonymous brief Malay treatise on the explanation of the Sufis doctrine of the unity of being (*waḥdat al-wujūd*). The text is presented in the form of *sual* (question) and *jawab* (answer), followed by an additional clarification that the correct Sufi path is that which does not neglect aspects of the Islamic laws (*sharī'ah*). A part of the text reads as follows: *…orang Sufi yang ingat senantiasa akan Allah dalam hatinya tiada lupa dan lalai akan Allah dalam hatinya serta tiada tinggal syariat*…. It is interesting to note that the example of such a Sufi as that quote in the text is the Acehnese scholar Hamzah Fansuri, who was accused by the more orthodox *ulama* Nūruddīn al-Rānīrī for being a heretic. It reads as follows: *…orang yang arif billah itu senantiasa kepada Allah seperti kata Syekh Hamzah Fansuri ahli makrifat…* (ff. 12r-16v);

(d) *Makrifat Sembahyang*: a Malay explanation of the qualifications of correct prayers from the Sufi perspective as well as a discussion on the *sharī'ah*, *ṭarīqah*, *ḥaqīqah*, and *ma'rifah*, followed by the discussion of a similar issue in Maranao by a different author (ff. 17v-26v);

(e) *Sual* and *jawab* on several issues of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*): the opening lines read as follows: *amma ba'd, adapun kemudian dari itu maka inilah suatu risalat pada menyatakan perkataan syahadat dan Islam dan iman dan sembahyang dan bersuci dan mandi.* This is followed by fragmented texts on Sufi doctrines regarding *martabat tujuh* (ff. 26r-36r);

(f) a compilation of talismans and prayers followed by several *dā'irah* (diagrams) on the attributes of God (ff. 37v-39v);

(g) a Malay treatise regarding the night of the Prophet's spiritual journey (*Mi'raj al-Nabī*), which is preceded by *tawaṣṣul* guidelines naming Muḥy al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jaylānī, al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir Ba 'Amadu al-'Imad k-f-h, a person to whom the author refers to as *shaykhī* (my teacher), and Sayyid al-sharif al-Husayn b. Abi Bakr b. 'Abdillah al-'Aydarus Ba Alawi. The colophon (f. 64r) reads as follows: *tamat al-kitab yang mempunyai pada guru masyi* (ff. 39r-66r);

(h) a prayer after the *ḍuḥá* prayer (f. 67v) as well as amulets and mantras for various purposes, including the following: *…inilah sebagai dua balas segala*

kejahatan bismillah nyiwa maka suwi bismillah hati mapatuwi bismillah bahan makakas bismillah tubuh maka suwing ya malinggang iya mapatu, yakni marupang insya Allah… (ff. 67v-69v);

(i) *Asal sembahyang lima waktu*: an explanation of the meanings of prayers from the Sufi perspective, followed by a discussion on the *sharī'ah*, *ṭarīqah*, *ḥaqīqah*, and *ma'rifah*. The text includes the following: *…adapun syariat itu jalan tubuh, dan tarekat itu jalan hati, dan hakikat itu jalan nyawa, dan makrifat itu jalan rahasia*, which is followed by another text regarding the same issue but separated by a *basmallah* (ff. 69r-100r).

(j) a chapter, written in Malay, explaining the Shaṭṭārīyah network of Encik Sirin Awal b. Sirin 'Abd al-Ghānī, which is connected to Haji Abdullah b. 'Abd al-Qahhār al-Shaṭṭārī al-Shāfi'ī Banten: parts of the text read as follows: *…maka Encik Sirin Awal b. Sirin 'Abd al-Ghānī yang salih lagi ragib mengambil tarekat al-Shaṭṭārī kepada Khatir al-Dawani…bahwasanya Shaykh kita 'Abdullāh b. 'Abd al-Qahhār al-Shaṭṭārī al-Shāfi'ī Banten telah mengambil tarekat sl-Shaṭṭārī….* This is followed by an explanation of the four categories of *murīd*, a *dā'irah* (mystical diagram to regulate the breath and utterance of *dhikr*), the concepts of *martabat tujuh*, and a brief explanation of the philosophy of prayer from the Sufi perspective. The text reads as follows: *ammā ba'd fa-i'lam adapun kemudian daripada itu inilah fasal pada menyatakan pohon sembahyang* (ff. 101v-103r);

(k) *Sayyid al-ma'rifah*: an explanation of theosophical Sufi teachings attributed to Shaykh Iḥsān al-Dīn. The opening lines read as follows: *…i'lam ketahui olehmu bahwasanya telah berkata Shaykh Iḥsān al-Dīn qaddasallahu sirrahu dalam kitab ini yang bernama Sayyid al-ma'rifah….* The unusual usage of the word *qaddasallahu sirrahu* indicates that the author of this text is probably not Shaykh Iḥsān al-Dīn. This work was well known among Muslims at the time and three copies of the text are found in the Al-Imam As-Sadiq (A.S.) Library of Husayniyyah Karbala Collection in Biaba-Damag (ff. 104v-105r);

(l) fragmented texts and notes related to Islamic Sufi teachings, written in Maranao, Malay, and Arabic and followed by *dā'irah* (mystical diagrams) of the phrase *lā ilāha illallāh* (ff. 106v-109v);

(m) *Ṭarīqat al-sādah al-shaṭṭārī*: guidelines for performing *bay 'ah*, followed by the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of Muḥammad As'ad b. al-Shaykh Muḥammad Sa'īd Ṭāhir al-Madanī, which goes back to the Prophet Muhammad. This

silsilah is considered to have been taken from al-Qushāshī's *al-Simṭ al-majīd* (ff. 110v-r);

(n) *Gunyat al-mubtadī*: a Malay Sufi treatise comprising two chapters: 1) *nafyi ithbāt* of *lā ilāha illallāh*, which is an explanation taken from the Acehnese 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's *'Umdat al-muḥtajīn* and 2) the practice of prayer intention (*niat sembahyang*) (ff. 111v-115v);

(o) *Bayān al-alif*: a brief mystical Sufi treatise, written in Arabic with interlinear Malay translations. It provides the explanation of the Divine Essence of God by using the philosophy of the character *Alif* (ff. 115r-119v).

The following is the complete text of the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of Muḥammad As'ad:

Alhamd lillāh talaqqana al-faqīr ilallāh ta'ālá
Muḥammad As'ad b. al-Shaykh Muḥammad Sa'īd Ṭāhir al-Madanī
'an wālidihi wa-'an jaddihi al-Shaykh Ibrāhīm
'an wālidihi al-Shaykh Muḥammad Ṭāhir
'an wālidihi al-Mulā Ibrāhīm
'an al-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Qushāshī
'an al-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Shanawī
'an al-Sayyid Ṣibgatullāh
'an Sayyidinā Wajih al-Dīn al-'Alawī
'an al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Ghawth
'an al-Shaykh Ḥāji Huḍūri
'an al-Shaykh Hidāyatullāh Sarmasti
'an al-Shaykh Qāḍi al-Shaṭṭārī
'an al-Shaykh 'Abdullāh [al-Shaṭṭārī]
'an al-Shaykh Muḥammad 'Ārif
'an al-Shaykh Muḥammad 'Āshiq
'an al-Shaykh Khudāqulī
'an al-Shaykh B. al-Ḥasan al-Khirqanī
'an al-Shaykh Abī al-Muẓaffar Turki al-Tūsi
'an al-Shaykh Yazīd al-'Ishqī
'an al-Shaykh al-Maghribī
'an al-Shaykh Abī Yazīd al-Busṭāmī
'an al-Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq
'an al-Imām Muḥammad Bāqir
'an al-Imām Zayn al-'Ābidīn
'an al-Imām Ḥusayn al-shāhid
'an Sayyidinā 'Ālī b. [Abī] Ṭālib raḍiyallāh 'anh
'an al-Nabī ṣallallāhu 'alayh wa-sallama
intahá min al-simṭ al-majīd al-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Qushāshī qaddasa sirrahu.

Chapter Three

SHAṬṬĀRĪYAH IN ACEH, JAVA, AND MINDANAO.
Its lines and genealogy

The Shaṭṭārīyah is the earliest known Sufi order introduced to the Malay-Indonesian world in the mid-seventeenth century. It did not originate from its center in India, but from Haramayn, where the Acehnese scholar ʻAbd al-Raʼūf b. ʻAlī al-Jāwī al-Fanṣūrī (d. 1693) was initiated by his teacher, Aḥmad al-Qushāshī (d. 1660) (Azra 2004:70-86; Trimingham 1998:130). The early development of Shaṭṭārīyah in this region centers on his return to Aceh in 1661, after completing his nineteenth sojourn to the Arabian Peninsula.

ʻAbd al-Raʼūf returned to Aceh one year after Aḥmad al-Qushāshī died, and he was immediately revered as a local scholar who significantly influenced the development of Islam in Aceh in particular and the Malay world in general (Snouck Hurgronje 1997:14, which is translated from *De Atjehers* by Sutan Maimoen; Rinkes 1909:25; Voorhoeve 1952:87). According to Kraus (2010) the Shaṭṭārīyah was probably widespread in Aceh at the beginning of the seventeenth century due to the popularity of al-Burhānfūrī's *al-Tuḥfah al-mursalah ilá al-Nabī*, which was read primarily by groups that followed the Shaṭṭārīyah tradition in India and Haramayn. In addition, he considered that ʻAbd al-Raʼūf might have had predecessors in Aceh, although he did not specify owing to the lack of available sources.[1]

If we agree with Kraus that the popularity of *al-Tuḥfah al-mursalah ilá al-Nabī* in Aceh may indicate the Shaṭṭārīyah's existence in this region, then we may consider Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr al-Shāmī al-Azharī al-ʻĀshī as the scholar who introduced the Shaṭṭārīyah into the Malay world, especially since he wrote a commentary of *al-Tuḥfah* titled *al-Mawāhib al-mustarsalah ʻalá al-*

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[1] Kraus 1997:177; this article has been reproduced, with some revisions, as Kraus 2010:201-226.

tuḥfah al-mursalah.[1] His name indicates his Syrian origin, and he studied at Al-Azhar University in Cairo, before settling in Aceh during the first half of the seventeenth century. Yet, we cannot consider him as 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's predecessor, especially due to the lack of Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah and written documents referring to him or to any other lineage older than 'Abd al-Ra'ūf.

Nevertheless, 'Abd al-Ra'ūf was an important Malay scholar who mastered various branches of Islamic knowledge, including *tasawwuf* (Sufism), *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), and *tafsir* (Quranic exegesis). In addition, he was a key figure in spreading the Shaṭṭārīyah Sufi order throughout Indonesia and Southeast Asia. He was the only Malay scholar in the mid-seventeenth century who wrote his details of study at various centers of Islamic learning in the Arabian Peninsula alongside his own Malay work, *'Umdat al-muḥtājīn* (Azra 2004; Riddell 1990).

Besides al-Qushāshī, 'Abd al-Ra'ūf studied with 57 scholars in Jeddah, Mecca, Medinah, Mokhā, Bayt al-Faqīh, among other places. One of his most influential teachers and a close friend was Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d. 1690). However, in terms of the Shaṭṭārīyah order, the majority of the sources state that 'Abd al-Ra'ūf received his *ijāzah* from al-Qushāshī, with only the *'Umdat al-muḥtājīn* stating that he obtained his *ijāzah* from al-Kūrānī (Riddell 1990: 223-238). We can conclude that 'Abd al-Ra'ūf received most of his ritual-spiritual knowledge and authorization from al-Qushāshī and his intellectual aspects of speculative mysticism from al-Kūrānī. The latter was known as a propagator of the theosophical doctrines of *waḥdat al-wujūd* (unity of being) and *martabat tujuh* (seven grades of emanation), which were especially influential in the Malay world.[2]

After returning to Aceh, 'Abd al-Ra'ūf immediately attracted significant attention from the incumbent ruler, Sultanah Safiyatuddin (r. 1645-1675), who appointed him as the *Qāḍī Malik al-'Ādil*, as well as from other Malay Muslims who wished to study with him due to his high capacity regarding various branches of Islamic knowledge.[3] 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's students originated

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[1] A critical edition of *al-Mawāhib* has been made by Yahya 2014.

[2] Among al-Kurani's works dealing with such issues is *Itḥāf al-dhakī bi-sharḥ al-tuḥfah al-mursalah ilá al-nabī*. The Arabic edited text with its Indonesian translation is provided in Fathurahman 2012.

[3] Regarding the life and career of Abd al-Ra'uf in the Aceh Sultanate as well as his role in the Islamic discourse on *waḥdat al-wujūd* in Aceh in particular, see Fathurahman 1999.

from both inside and outside Aceh.[1] However, this study will focus only on his students from Aceh and Java.

In Aceh, one of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's students was Bābā Dāwūd al-Jāwī b. Ismā'īl b. Aghā Muṣṭafá b. Aghā 'Alī al-Rūmī, a Turkish-Malay scholar. He is referred to in the silsilah as Shaykh Bābā Dāwūd b. Ismā'īl Peunayong.[2] His Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah can be found on ff. 177r-178r of MS 07_01126 from the Aceh Museum Collection, alongside that of his student, Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn.

Bābā Dāwūd's name is also mentioned in a colophon of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's *Tarjumān al-mustafīd*, the only complete Malay Quranic commentary for almost 300 years. He identified himself as …*aṣghar talāmidhihi wa-aḥqar khadāmihi*… (his most poor student and most humble servant). The colophon reads as follows:

> *Wa-yazīdu 'alayhi aṣghar talāmidhihi wa-aḥqar khadāmihi Bābā Dāwūd al-Jāwī b. Ismā'īl b. Aghā Muṣṭafá b. Aghā 'Alī al-Rūmī ghafarallāhu la-hum qiṣṣahu al-ma'khūdhah aktharuhu min al-Khāzin wa-ba'ḍ riwāyatihi fī al-qirā'ah bi-amrihi…*
>
> *Dan menambah atas sekecil-kecil muridnya dan sehina-hina khadamnya, yaitu Bābā Dāwūd Jawi anak Isma'il anak Agha Mustafa anak Agha Ali Rumi, diampuni Allah jua kiranya sekalian mereka itu akan segala kisahnya yang diambil kebanyakannya daripada Khāzin dan setengah riwayatnya pada khilaf qiraat dengan suruhnya.*[3]
>
> His most poor student and most humble servant, Bābā Dāwūd al-Jāwī b. Ismā'īl b. Aghā Muṣṭafá b. Aghā 'Alī al-Rūmī, added parts of its stories mostly taken from (*tafsīr*) al-Khāzin, and some narratives related to the *qirā'ah* (readings), based on his orders.

This colophon confirms that Bābā Dāwūd was a Malay-speaking Turkish scholar, who was assigned to add to and complete the work based on the author's orders. According to a study by Peter Riddell on *Tarjumān al-mustafīd*, Bābā Dāwūd's additions are extremely significant. As mentioned in

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[1] For a discussion regarding several students of Abd al-Ra'uf, see Fathurahman 2008:34-37.

[2] There is insufficient information concerning his life and career. See Azra 2004:75-76.

[3] Source: MS 1/TF/5/YPAH/2005 of *Tarjumān al-mustafīd*, which is preserved in the Ali Hasjmi Collection, Banda Aceh (Fathurahman and Holil 2007:32-33). There are many other copies of *Tarjumān al-mustafīd* in several libraries, including ML 290 and 116 of the Jakarta National Library and MS 3316 of Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia (PNM), Kuala Lumpur.

the colophon, these additions include stories or anecdotes originating from al-Khāzin's *Lubāb al-ta'wīl fī ma'ānī al-tanzīl* and information on various readings (*qirā'ah*). Bābā Dāwūd distinguished his additional texts from the main text by adding the headings *qiṣṣah* and *fā'idah*, which frequently appear in the work.[1]

Unfortunately, there is insufficient data to establish details regarding Bābā Dāwūd's origins, life, and other works. It is only the "Baba" in his name, which means "missionary" or "popular preacher" (*shaykh*), that identifies him as Turkish. This term is widely used by *shaykhs* of various mystical orders in both Turkey and India (Trimingham 1998,:301), while the label "al-Rumi" further suggests Turkish origins (Riddell 1990:42). Moreover, "Agha" is a Turkish term for a title of respect such as a military commander or a chieftain of a tribe (Bruinessen 1992a:341), while "al-Jāwī" indicates his Malay identity. Azyumardi Azra assumes that his mother was probably of Malay origin, or at least that he was born in the archipelago (Azra 2004:86). Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that Bābā Dāwūd was a Turkish-Jawi scholar, who significantly contributed toward the development of the intellectual Islamic tradition in the Malay world.

Besides *Tarjumān al-mustafīd*, Mehmet Özay revealed that Bābā Dāwūd was the author of another Malay work titled *Masā'il al-muhtadī li-Ikhwān al-mubtadī*. However, he does not provide any further arguments regarding this and the work contains no information that suggests this (Özay 2011b: 45). Further research is necessary to clarify his role in the development of the Islamic intellectual tradition in the archipelago.

Another student of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf was 'Abd al-Muḥyī from Karang, West Java, who apparently became 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's only successor to spread the Shaṭṭārīyah tradition in Java. Due to the work of 'Abd al-Muḥyī and his successors, by the end of the nineteenth century, the Shaṭṭārīyah Sufi order became one of the largest orders in Java. Ricklefs particularly highlighted the considerable influences of the order in Banyumas and Bagelen in the late 1880s, in addition to those of the Naqsbandīyah and Qādirīyah wa Naqshbandīyah (Ricklefs 2007:75).

With regard to this study, 'Abd al-Ra'ūf had no direct link to the Shaṭṭārīyah order in the Lanao area of Mindanao. His works, however, were

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[1] For a detailed discussion related to Bābā Dāwūd's additions in the *Tarjumān al-mustafīd*, see Riddell 1990:42-60.

undoubtedly well known in the region. Current research on the Islamic manuscripts from the Al-Imam As-Sadiq (A.S.) Library of Husayniyyah Karbala in Marawi City suggests that some of ʻAbd al-Raʼūfʼs works were copied and his name was repeatedly mentioned in local manuscripts (Fathurahman and Kawashima n.d.).

The connection between ʻAbd al-Raʼūfʼs Shaṭṭārīyah link in Aceh and Java and his link in the Lanao area of Mindanao is undoubtedly Aḥmad al-Qushāshī, as the silsilah of all Shaṭṭārīyah members in these areas originate from him. In addition, his *al-Simṭ al-majīd* was the only reference in the 36 Shaṭṭārīyah silsilahs examined in this study, although "only" seven of them explicitly mention the work.[1]

The following is the complete text of al-Qushāshīʼs Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah as seen in the work:[2]

> ***Sanad al-sādah al-Shaṭṭārīyah*** *wa-ittiṣālunā bihi*
> *wa-huwa talaqqana al-faqīr Aḥmad al-madhkūr wa-ṣāfaḥa wa-labisa wa-ṣaḥiba wa-akhadha al-jawāhir al-khams wa-al-ʻulūm al-ẓāhirah wa-al-bāṭinah*
> *min wālidihi wa-quṭb dāʼirat mushāhadat al-ʻālim al-rabbānī al-munfarid fī āwānihi bi-lā thāniya midad al-kubarāʼ ʻinda al-nawāzil, sayyidinā Abī*[3] *al-Mawāhib Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī al-Qurashī al-ʻAbbāsī al-Shannāwī ṭāba tharāhu*
> *wa-huwa talaqqana dhālika ʻan sulṭān al-ʻārifīn billāh sayyidinā al-sayyid Ṣibghatillāh ibn al-sayyid rūḥ Allāh*
> *wa-huwa talaqqana dhālika min al-imām al-miqdām qudwat al-ʻulamāʼ al-aʻlām wa-mufīd al-ṭālibīn fī al-ʻilm al-khāṣṣ wa-al-ʻāmm sayyidinā Wajīh al-Dīn al-ʻAlawī*
> *wa-huwa akhadha ʻan al-Gawth al-jāmiʻ lil-jawāmiʻ sayyidinā al-sayyid Muḥammad al-Gawth ibn al-sayyid Khaṭīr al-Dīn*
> *wa-huwa akhadha ʻan sayyidinā quṭb al-midār wa-qudwat al-muqarrabīn wa-al-abrār al-mabrūr al-shaykh hājj Ḥuḍūri*[4] *ṭāba tharāhu*
> *wa-huwa akhadha ʻan sayyidinā al-shaykh Hadīyatullāh*[5] *Sarmasti*
> *wa-huwa talaqqana min sayyidinā al-imām Qāḍī al-Shaṭṭārī*

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[1] See, for instance, MSS 07_03150, 07_007786 and 07_00757 from the Aceh Museum Collection, 203/TS/15/YPAH/2005 from the Ali Hasjmy Collection, MS2 from the Shiek Ahmad Basher Memorial Research Library, B1 MS-2, and B1 MS-3 from the Al-Imam As-Sadiq (A.S.) Library Collection.

[2] MS 10102 from the Kitābkhānah Majlis Shuūrá Malī Collection, ff. 29v–r. This work has been printed by Majlis Dāʼirat al-maʻārif al-niẓāmīyah, Haederabad, India, 1327 A.H.

[3] The text: *Abū*.

[4] Margin note: *wa-yusammá Ḥamīd al-Dīn*.

[5] Margin note: *wa-yuqālu Haybatullāh*.

wa-huwa talaqqana min al-shaykh ʻAbdillāh al-Shaṭṭārī
wa-huwa talaqqana min sayyidinā Muḥammad ʻĀrif
wa-huwa talaqqana min sayyidi Muḥammad ʻĀshiq
wa-huwa talaqqana min al-shaykh Khudāqulī al-Māwiri al-Nahrī
wa-huwa talaqqana min al-quṭb Abī[1] al-Ḥasan al-Khirqānī
wa-huwa talaqqana min al-shaykh Abī[2] al-Muẓaffar Mawlānā Turk al-Ṭūsī
wa-huwa talaqqana min al-shaykh al-Aʻrābī Yazīd al-ʻIshqī
wa-huwa talaqqana min al-shaykh Muḥammad al-Maghribī
wa-huwa talaqqana min rūḥānīyat Sulṭān al-ʻĀrifīn Abī Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī
wa-huwa talaqqana min rūḥānīyat al-imām Jaʻfar al-Ṣādiq
wa-huwa talaqqana min al-imām Muḥammad al-Bāqir
wa-huwa talaqqana min al-imām Zayn al-ʻĀbidīn
wa-huwa talaqqana min al-imām Ḥusayn al-shahīd
wa-huwa talaqqana min al-imām al-murtaḍá ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib
wa-huwa talaqqana min al-Nabī ṣallallāhu ʻalayh wa-sallama

Four lines of the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah

This study concludes that, since the seventeenth century, the Shaṭṭārīyah genealogy in Aceh, Java, and the Lanao area of Mindanao can be traced back through four lines of silsilah: those of (1) ʻAbd al-Raʼūf, (2) Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, (3) Shaykh Ḥasan al-ʻAjamīʼ, and (4) Shaykh Ṣāliḥ Khaṭīb. As outlined below, all these lines date back to al-Qushāshī through a series of different teachers and murshids.

1. ʻAbd al-Raʼūfʼs Line

ʻAbd al-Raʼūf was the Acehnese scholar who was regarded as the main Shaṭṭārīyah *khalīfah* in the Malay Peninsula. Apart from his Malay-Indonesian students, he had a prominent disciple from Trengganu, ʻAbd al-Malik b. ʻAbd Allāh (1678-1736), better known as Tok Pulau Manis (Azra 2004, 86). As shown below, ʻAbd al-Raʼūfʼs teachings and influences eventually spread not only in the Malay-speaking region, but also throughout the majority of Java.

ʻAbd al-Raʼūf was the first and probably the only known student of al-Qushāshī to refer to this Shaṭṭārīyah as the "Qushāshīyah" order when he titled one of his works, *Tanbīh al-māshī al-mansūb ilá ṭarīq al-Qushāshī* (An admonition for those who follow al-Qushāshīʼs Sufi order) (Fathurahman

[1] The text: *Abū*.
[2] The text: *Abū*.

1999; see also Voorhoeve 1952:35). As Azra (2004:85) highlights, this name indicates the "reformation" of the Shaṭṭārīyah teachings spread by 'Abd al-Ra'ūf that became a unique Malay-Indonesian phenomenon and shows that 'Abd al-Ra'ūf attempted to disengage his Sufi order from the early Shaṭṭārīyah teachings in India, which was regarded as the most syncretic medieval Sufi order, especially due to the strong influence of Muḥammad Gauth Gwalior (Lawrence 1982:39).

Interestingly, from the seventeen Aceh manuscripts containing the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah, only two include information regarding Acehnese students who were initiated into this order through 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's line; these include MSS 07_01126 and 07_00851 from the Aceh Museum Collection. The former mentions only Bābā Dāwūd b. Isma'il Peunayong, a scholar of Turkish origin who was one of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's closest disciples, and Bābā Dāwūd's student, Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn. The latter includes Acehnese students who became Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn's successors, which, in turn, included the following: Teungku Faqih, who initiated Teungku Jamaluddin, who initiated Teungku Abdullatif b. Abdullah, who initiated Muhammad Said b. Abdul Wahid, who initiated Teungku Abdullah.[1] However, due to the limited sources, it is impossible to ascertain the biographies of these students.

These two manuscripts disprove Kraus's uncertainty (Kraus 1997:177) regarding whether Bābā Dāwūd b. Isma'il Peunayong, also known as Teungku Chik di Leupeu, developed and expanded the Shaṭṭārīyah tradition in Aceh. However, this involved a limited number of students and probably took place no later than the nineteenth century. Thus, Snouck Hurgronje's (1857-1936) report that Shaṭṭārīyah followers in Aceh were few and far between in the late nineteenth century (Snouck Hurgronje 1906:20) is not surprising, especially if he focused on the center of Banda Aceh. As shown below, from the latter part of the nineteenth century onward, the Shaṭṭārīyah mostly spread outward from the center of Banda Aceh, especially in Tanoh Abee, Seulimum, West Aceh.

In Java, 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's line of the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah definitely spread due to one of his most prominent students, 'Abd al-Muḥyī from Karang, Saparwadi, West Java. The absence of any work by 'Abd al-Muḥyī arouses skepticism regarding whether he was a historical or mythical figure. Kraus

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[1] MS 07_00851 from the Aceh Museum Collection, f. 50r.

believed that he was a historical figure and a leading Javanese *ulama* in the seventeenth century (Kraus 1995:23). The number of manuscripts of the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah examined in this study could also be regarded as indicating his influence in spreading the Shaṭṭārīyah order in West, Central, and East Java, which has also been confirmed by local narratives and by Christomy (2001).

To establish 'Abd al-Muḥyī's possible dates of birth and death, we must consider information provided by the Dutch scholar, Douwes Adolf Rinkes, who stated that he was presumably born in Mataram; his father was Kyai Shaykh Lebe Wartakoesoema; and his mother was Nyi Raden Ajeng Tangan Djiah, an Arab descendant of Kanjeng Sinuhun Giri Kedaton (Rinkes 1910: 562-563). His parents probably left Mataram while 'Abd al-Muḥyī was a child. However, no historical material includes the exact dates of their relocation. Kraus suggested that it probably occurred during the reign of Amangkurat I (r. 1646-1677), whose hostility toward the Javanese Islamic elite resulted in the massacre of approximately 6,000 Muslim clerics and their families (Kraus 1995:24).[1]

Having examined the Dutch documents, historical materials, oral history of the Pamijahan locals, and local written sources such as *Sejarah Cirebon* and *Sejarah Sukapura*, Kraus concluded that 'Abd al-Muḥyī's dates were probably 1640-1715 (Kraus 1995:24). After returning from a pilgrimage to Mecca, 'Abd al-Muḥyī arrived in Aceh (after 1661) to study with 'Abd al-Ra'ūf, from whom he received his *ijāzah* as the *khālifah* of the Shaṭṭārīyah.

Rinkes and Christomy's studies suggest that 'Abd al-Muḥyī had four wives: Sembah Ayu Bakta, Nyi Mas Ayu Fatimah, Sembah Ayu Winangun, and Sembah Ayu Tangga. His known children from his first wife included Bagus Anom (alias Emas Feqih Ibrahim), Sembah Dalem Bojong, Haji Abdullah, and Sembah Madi Kasuma (Christomy 2001:79 note 13, 2008:73; Rinkes 1910:562-564).

The fourteen silsilahs included in the eleven manuscripts examined in this study confirm that Haji Abdullah was one of the most important successors of 'Abd al-Muḥyī in the Shaṭṭārīyah order in Java.[2] Through him, the

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[1] A detailed discussion regarding the political context of the massacre of Islamic leaders during the reign of Amangkurat I, see Ricklefs 2001:91-92.

[2] MSS Jav. 69 f. 9r (silsilah a and c), Jav. 77 p. 31, Jav. 50 f. 203r, Or. 7274 f. 3v, and 211_BMB029 f. 4r; for other Shaṭṭārīyah silsilahs of 'Abd al-Muhyi's networks that are not

spiritual genealogy of Kanjeng Ratu Kadipaten, the influential wife of Pangeran Mangkubumi or Hamengkubuwana I (r. 1749-1792), is linked to ʻAbd al-Raʼūf. Besides the Kraton Yogyakarta's Ratu, the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of another Kraton elite from Cirebon is linked to ʻAbd al-Raʼūf through Haji Abdullah: Ratu Raja Fatimah, the daughter of Kanjeng Gusti Sultan Anom, the ruler of Kraton Cirebon in the second half of the eighteenth century.[1]

Interestingly, the MS Jav.83 (f. 26r) confirms that his full name is: *Emas Haji Abdullah Feqih Ibrahim pon nenggih ing Kawis*. In this case, "Kawis" refers to Karang Saparwadi, since this manuscript also names ʻAbd al-Muḥyī as *Haji ʻAbd al-Muḥyī ing Kawis desane*.[2] In fact, the word *kawis* is the *krama* variant of the normal *ngoko* word *karang*. This silsilah implies that the names Haji Abdullah and Feqih Ibrahim refer to the same person (ʻAbd al-Muḥyī's son), unlike what Rinkes and Christomy suggested. The MS Jav.83, which names Emas Haji Abdullah Feqih Ibrahim, as well as the other four manuscripts,[3] which name Haji Abdullah, present the same son and successor: Emas Nida Muhammad or Emas Nida Muhammad Muhyiddin or Panembahan Mas Nida Muhammad Muhyi.

This new data might be considered to be a confused interpretation of information in *Babad Tanah Jawi* regarding the existence of a Karang *ulama* who became a *pengulu* in Surakarta during the first half of the eighteenth century. Rinkes suggested that this *ulama* was Haji Abdullah, while Christomy, on the basis of local narratives in Pamijahan, suggested that it was Paqih Ibrahim (Christomy 2001:73-74; Rinkes 1910:563). I suspect that these two names refer to the same individual, Emas Haji Abdullah Feqih Ibrahim. However, more focused research should be conducted to ascertain this.

Haji Abdullah's students were not limited to his son, Emas Nida Muhammad. MS Jav. 69 f. 9r mentions another Karang *ulama*, Mas Muhammad Yusuf, who, in turn, initiated Kyai Mufid from Karang Bolong, who then initiated Kanjeng Ratu Kadipaten of Kraton Yogyakarta. The last student of Haji Abdullah from Karang that this study focuses on is Haji Muhammad Hasanuddin, who initiated Kyai Muhammad Salih from Kartabasuki, who

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covered in this study, see Christomy 2001:55–82.

[1] MS 211_BMB029 f. 4r.

[2] MSS Jav. 83 f. 26v.

[3] MSS Jav. 69, Jav. 77, Jav. 50, and Or. 7274.

then initiated Kyai Mas Muhammad Arjain (or Kyai Hasan Arjain), the *penghulu* in the Kraton Kanoman, presumably in the mid-nineteenth century. The latter was probably an important figure who spread the Shaṭṭārīyah order not only in the Kraton Cirebon circle but also in the nearby city of Kuningan. This is based on the fact that one of his students was Kyai Hasan Maolani of Lengkong (1779-1874), known as "Eyang Manado" or "Kyai Lengkong," the most influential local *ulama*, who was banished (to Manado and then Tondano, North Sulawesi) by Dutch authorities in 1842.[1]

Furthermore, Haji Abdullah was one of 'Abd al-Muḥyī's successors from whom the spiritual genealogy of Batavia/Betawi students such as Khatib Said, Encik Salihin al-Batawiyah, Anak Tung, and Baba Jainan, originated.[2] It is interesting to note that the Shaṭṭārīyah order in Batavia, which was geographically close to Karang, was not directly linked to the Karang *ulama* (except for Anak Mandor Syafi'i's silsilah), but was linked through other *murshid*s from Tegal in Central Java and Banten. MSS Jav.77 and Jav.50, for instance, mention that Khatib Said and Encik Salihin al-Batawiyah, both from Mataraman (currently known as Matraman), were initiated by Tuan Haji Nur Ahmad from Tegal, who received his authority from 'Abd al-Muḥyī's grandson, Panembahan Mas Nida Muhammad Muhyi. In addition, Cod. Or. 7274 confirms that Anak Tung and Baba Jainan from Kampung Pasar Senen Sungai Baru received their *ijāzah* from a Bantenese *ulama*, Kyai Santari Hurip, who was the student of Kyai Mas Alida Muhammad (the son of Kyai Mas Nida Muhammad Muhyiddin) and who I believe to be Panembahan Mas Nida Muhammad Muhyi.

The second important successor of 'Abd al-Muḥyī was his other son, addressed in our manuscripts as Dalem Bojong[3] or Emas Bagus Dalem Bojong,[4] who also lived during the first half of the eighteenth century. Dalem Bojong's line of Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah is also connected to Kanjeng Ratu Kadipaten of Jogjakarta through his son Emas Bagus Muhammad Muhyiddin, who, in turn, initiated two Karang students: Muhammad Shakir and

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[1] Laffan, basing his information on a travel report by the Dutch scholar Jan Isaäc van Sevenhoven (d. 1841), discusses the significance of Kyai Hasan Maolani and his *pesantren* in Lengkong during the development of Islam in the region (Laffan 2011:51-52 and 153).

[2] See the texts of each silsilah in the following chapter.

[3] MSS Jav. 69 f. 9v (silsilah b), 211_KCR028 f. 3v, and Cod. Or. 7424, p. 21.

[4] MSS Jav. 69 f. 9r (silsilah d), Or. 7397, p. 2 (of the second part), and *Kitāb Mamlūkah*, p. 2.

Kyai Nurdaim (whose names are stated as the person who separately initiated Kanjeng Ratu).[1] Moreover, Emas Bagus Muhammad Muhyiddin[2] is consistently mentioned in six silsilahs as the successor of the Shaṭṭārīyah whose line can be found not only in Jogjakarta but also in Surakarta, Kraton Cirebon, and Batavia.

The MS *Kitāb mamlūkah*, for instance, includes an extensive list of Shaṭṭārīyah followers in the Surakarta area, beginning with Raden Behi Wigyawinata, a *Palang* or *Demang* from Kayo in Caruban, East Java, who received his *ijāzah* from Haji Abdurrahman Tegalreja, who was initiated by Kyai Ahmad Pacitan, who was initiated by Kyai Bagus Mustahal Pacitan, who was initiated by Kyai Murshad Surakarta, who was initiated by Emas Bagus Muhammad Muhyiddin.

In the Kraton Cirebon circle, the Shaṭṭārīyah line of Dalem Bojong is found in the silsilah of Nyimas Ayu Alimah (ca. the first half of the nineteenth century), who received her *ijāzah* from Bagus Kashfiyah of Wanantara (approximately 8 km southwest of Cirebon), who was initiated by Kyai Muqayim of Sampiran Cirebon, who was initiated by Emas Bagus Muhammad Muhyiddin. The only Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of Cirebon members that did not include the names of ʻAbd al-Muḥyīʼs descendants is present in MS CRB_OS_01_D_2012, which linked Kyai Bulqiyah of Sidapurna Cirebon to ʻAbd al-Muḥyī through a series of teachers: Kyai Haji Syarqowi; Babakan Majalengka, who received his *ijāzah* from Kyai Mas Irfan, Cirebon, who was initiated by Muqayim, Sampiran, Cirebon, who was initiated by Kyai Pangulu of Batang; and Kyai Talabuddin, who was initiated by ʻAbd al-Muḥyī.

It is interesting to note that there were three elite women in the Kraton Cirebon who became Shaṭṭārīyah followers through different lines than previously mentioned line of Shaykh Haji Abdullah. Besides Nyimas Ayu Alimah and Ratu Raja Fatimah, MS 211_EPJ005 from the Elang Panji Collection names *Kanjeng Ratu Ibu kang Ibu Kanjeng Sultan Cirebon*, whose Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah can be traced through a Bantenese *murshid*, ʻAbd al-Qahhār al-Jāwī al-Bantānī. This brings us to the hypothesis that the Shaṭṭārī-

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[1] MSS Jav. 69 ff. 9v–r (silsilah b and d).

[2] MS Cod. Or. 7424 includes Emas Bagus, while *Kitāb mamlūkah* includes Emas Bagus Muhyiddin. I believe that these names refer to one person, Dalem Bojongʼs son.

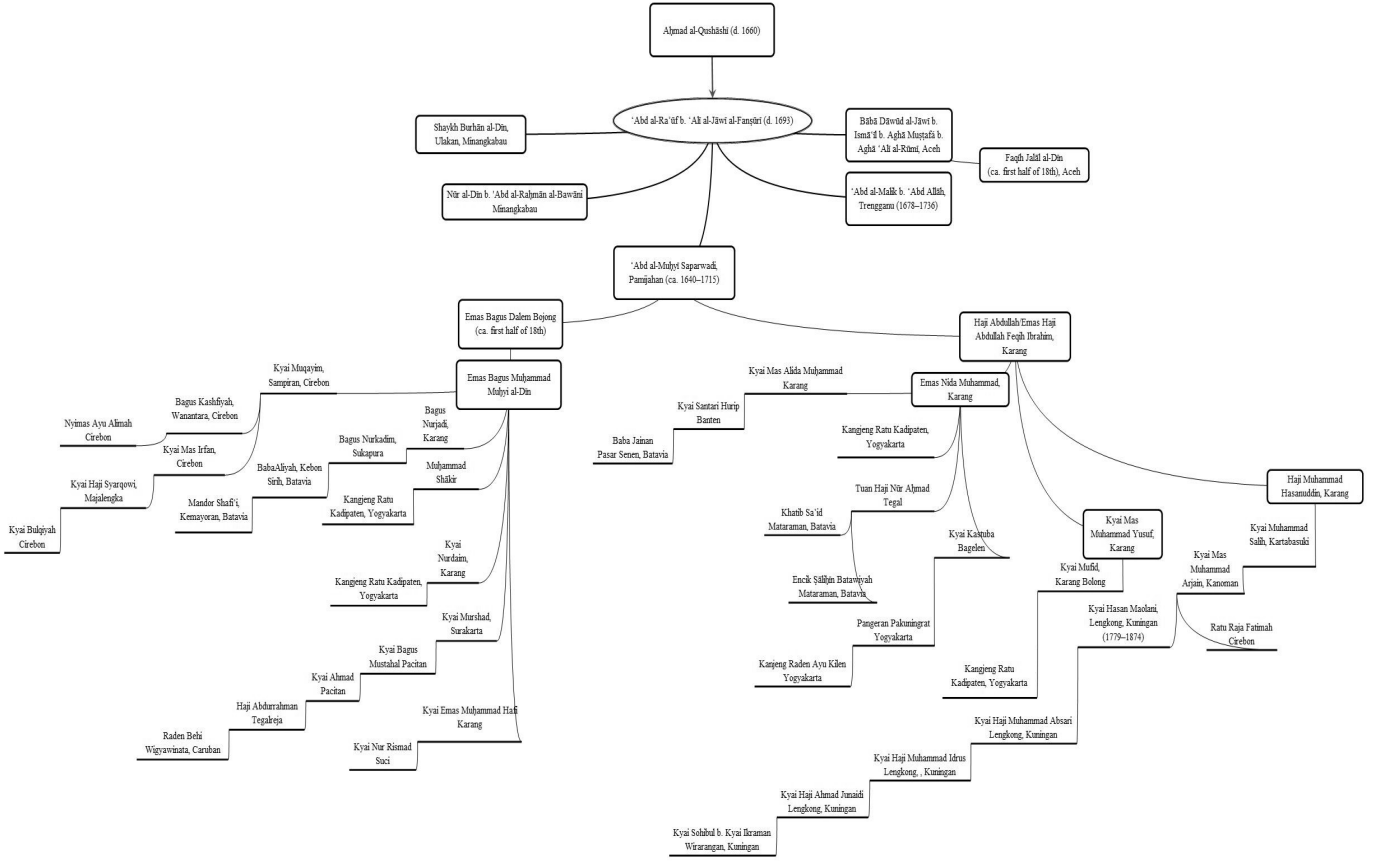
yah silsilah in the Cirebon area was linked not only to the line of Karang Pamijahan *ulama* but also to Banten.[1]

In addition, the Shaṭṭārīyah in Cirebon and Banten were distantly linked to the Lanao area of Mindanao, as suggested by MS B1-MS2 in the Al-Imam As-Sadiq (A.S.) Library of Husayniyyah Collection, which contains a Malay version of ʻAbd al-Qahhār al-Jāwī al-Bantānī's Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah. Upon closer examination, this silsilah text was found to be similar to the Javanese version in MS 211_EPJ005, except that MS B1-MS2 referred to Khatib Dawud b. Shamsuddin, who may have been a student of al-Bantani, and who may have initiated Encik Sirin Awal b. Sirin Abdul Ghani.

There was another local Shaṭṭārīyah follower in Batavia named Mandor Shafiʻi of Kampung Kemayoran, whose *ijāzah* is linked to ʻAbd al-Muḥyī and ʻAbd al-Raʼūf through Dalem Bojong. The surviving sources are insufficient to ascertain his biography, but he probably lived in the late nineteenth century. He was initiated by his father, Baba Aliyah of Kebon Sirih, who received his *ijāzah* from Bagus Nurkadim of Mandala, Pamijahan in Sukapura (currently known as Tasikmalaya, West Java), who was initiated by Bagus Nurjadi of Karang, who was initiated by Emas Bagus Muhammad Muhyiddin.

Next page:
Picture 2. Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah: ʻAbd al-Raʼūf's line.

[1] Regarding the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah outside the court, such as in Pesantren Buntet, Cirebon, see Muhaimin 2006:248-251.


Aḥmad al-Qushāshī (d. 1660)
ʿAbd al-Raʾūf b. ʿAlī al-Jāwī al-Fanṣūrī (d. 1693)
Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn, Ulakan, Minangkabau
Bāhā Dāwūd al-Jāwī b. Ismāʿīl b. Aghā Muṣṭafā b. Aghā ʿAlī al-Rūmī, Aceh
Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn (ca. first half of 18th), Aceh
Nūr al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bawānī Minangkabau
ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd Allāh, Trengganu (1678–1736)
ʿAbd al-Muḥyī Sapanwadi, Pamijahan (ca. 1640–1715)
Emas Bagus Dalem Bojong (ca. first half of 18th)
Haji Abdullah/Emas Haji Abdullah Fegih Ibrahim, Karang
Emas Bagus Muḥammad Muḥyi al-Dīn
Kyai Muqayim, Sampiran, Cirebon
Bagus Kashfiyah, Wanantara, Cirebon
Nyimas Ayu Alimah Cirebon
Kyai Mas Irfan, Cirebon
Kyai Haji Syarqowi, Majalengka
Kyai Bulqiyah Cirebon
Bagus Nurkadim, Sukapura
Baba/Aliyah, Kebon Sirih, Batavia
Mandor Shafi'i, Kemayoran, Batavia
Bagus Nurjadi, Karang
Muḥammad Shākir
Kangjeng Ratu Kadipaten, Yogyakarta
Kyai Nurdaim, Karang
Kangjeng Ratu Kadipaten, Yogyakarta
Kyai Murshad, Surakarta
Kyai Bagus Mustahal Pacitan
Kyai Ahmad Pacitan
Haji Abdurrahman Tegalreja
Raden Beki Wigyawinata, Caruban
Kyai Emas Muḥammad Hafi Karang
Kyai Nur Rismad Suci
Kyai Mas Alida Muḥammad Karang
Kyai Santari Hirip Banten
Baba Jainan Pasar Senen, Batavia
Emas Nida Muḥammad, Karang
Kangjeng Ratu Kadipaten, Yogyakarta
Tuan Haji Nūr Aḥmad Tegal
Khatib Sa'id Mataraman, Batavia
Encik Ṣāliḥīn Bataviyah Mataraman, Batavia
Kyai Kastuba Bagelen
Pangeran Pakuningrat Yogyakarta
Kanjeng Raden Ayu Kilen Yogyakarta
Kangjeng Ratu Kadipaten, Yogyakarta
Kyai Haji Muhammad Absari Lengkong, Kuningan
Kyai Haji Muhammad Idrus Lengkong, , Kuningan
Kyai Haji Ahmad Junaidi Lengkong, Kuningan
Kyai Sohibul b. Kyai Ikraman Wirarangan, Kuningan
Haji Muhammad Hasanuddin, Karang
Kyai Mas Muhammad Yusuf, Karang
Kyai Mufid, Karang Belong
Kyai Hasan Maolani, Lengkong, Kuningan (1779–1874)
Kyai Muhammad Salih, Kartabasuki
Kyai Mas Muhammad Arsjam, Kanoman
Ratu Raja Fatimah Cirebon

2. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī's line

Previous studies regarding the Shaṭṭārīyah network in Aceh in particular and the Malay Peninsula in general have focused on 'Abd al-Ra'ūf as the main *khalīfah* responsible for spreading the order in the region (Azra 2004; Christomy 2008; Fathurahman 2008). Even Fakhriati (2008), whose study included the followers of the order in several areas in Aceh until the colonial and post-colonial periods, implies that 'Abd al-Ra'ūf was a central figure for them.

The exception was Kraus's study, which specifically underlined the phenomenon of the order in Seulimum and Meulaboh, West Aceh. Based on his interviews and observations during his visit in 1986, Kraus concluded that the Shaṭṭārīyah who came to Aceh in the seventeenth century had survived in certain areas not through 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's line but through al-Kūrānī's family line (Kraus 1997:186-187). However, no manuscript or other written source provided the spiritual genealogy of the followers.

Therefore, this section will more comprehensively argue that 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's line in the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah of Aceh ended during Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn's era and was replaced by the chain linked to the family of Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, although al-Kūrānī himself was more known as a Naqshbandīyah *khālifah* (Kraus 1997:176).[1] Among the 16 examined Aceh-origin manuscripts, nine contained Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah that involved not 'Abd al-Ra'ūf but rather al-Kūrānī and his descendants.

Accordingly, we may assume that the last Acehnese scholar whose Shaṭṭārīyah chain is linked to 'Abd al-Ra'ūf was Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn, who served as a *Qāḍī Malik al-'Ādil* during the reigns of Sultan 'Alauddin Maharaja Lela Ahmad Shah (r. 1727-1735) and Sultan 'Alauddin Johan Shah (r. 1735-1760) (Abdullah 1999:42). MS 07_01126 from the Aceh Museum Collection confirms that Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn received his *ijāzah* from his Turkish-Malay teacher, Bābā Dāwūd b. Isma'il Peunayong, who became one 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's closest students.

In this case, al-Kūrānī's main successor, who became the crucial link for furthering the Shaṭṭārīyah order in Aceh during the nineteenth century, was his son, Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Madanī or Abu Ṭāhir al-Kūrānī (1670-1733),

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[1] Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn may have initiated his son, Muhammad Zayn b. Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn, the author of the Malay work, *Bidāyat al-hidāyah*, as his successor. However, no sources confirm this.

who was born and died in Medina. Azra's study asserted that he studied mostly in Haramayn with prominent teachers including his father, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, and al-Kūrānī's colleagues and associates such as Sulaymān al-Maghribī (d. ca. 1682), Ḥasan al-'Ajamī (d. 1701), Ibn 'Abd al-Rasūl al-Barzanjī, 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī (d. 1722), and Aḥmad al-Nakhlī (1639-1718) (Azra 2004:29-30).

Muḥammad Ṭāhir replaced his father as an influential teacher in the Prophet's Mosque in Medina and became the Shaykh of the Shaṭṭārīyah following al-Kūrānī's death in 1690. Similar to al-Kūrānī, he was also regarded as a transmitter of Ibn 'Arabi's mystical teachings to the next generation (Taji-Farouki 2006:37). His students came from various regions of the Islamic world; they included the Indian hadith scholar Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī (d. 1749) and the great Indian Naqshbandī reformist Shāh Waliullāh (d. 1763), who, according to Kraus (Kraus 1997:176), was also initiated into the Shaṭṭārīyah order. Martin van Bruinessen suggests that 'Abdullah b. 'Abdul Qahhar (1750s and 1760s), a scholar of mixed Arabic and Bantenese descent and a protégé of Sultan Abu al-Nasr Zain al-'Ashiqin (1753-1777), was one of Muḥammad Ṭāhir's Jawi students in Medina, although in the Naqshbandīyah order (Bruinessen 1992b, 44 and 59). He received his *ijāzah* in the Shaṭṭārīyah from another Medina scholar, Muḥammad b. al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī b. 'Alī al-Ṭabarī (1689-1760), as indicated by the manuscripts from Cirebon and the Lanao area of Mindanao.

Subsequently, al-Kūrānī's line of the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah was continued by his grandson, Ibrāhīm Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad Ṭāhir; his great grandson, Muḥammad Sa'īd b. Ibrāhīm Ṭāhir; and to a certain degree, his great-great grandson, Muḥammad As'ad b. Muḥammad Sa'īd (ca. the early nineteenth century). A manuscript, 07_007786, in the Aceh Museum Collection, however, includes another line concerning the al-Kūrānī family. It states that Ibrāhīm Ṭāhir's successor was not Muḥammad Sa'īd, but his other son, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Ṭāhir al-Madanī, who initiated a student who identified himself as *al-faqīr ilá Allāh ta'ālá*. Having considered al-Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, who is mentioned as the author of the immediately preceding text, *Manāsik al-ḥajj*, the term *al-faqīr* presumably refers to him as the owner of this silsilah.[1]

[1] MS 07_007786, ff. 50r–52r.

The appearance of the al-Kūrānī family in the Shaṭṭārīyah chain of genealogy confirms Kraus's assertion that during subsequent centuries, it became typical in Sufism to inherit spiritual offices. In this case, up to al-Kūrānī, the succeeding members of the silsilah were not blood relatives; however, the office was inherited within the family from then onward (Kraus 1997:181). In addition, we observe a similar tendency in the case of ʻAbd al-Muḥyī from West Java, as elucidated below.

The majority of the manuscripts examined in this study suggest that Muḥammad Asʻad was the last al-Kūrānī descendant to be the crucial link to the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah in Aceh in the later period. However, MS 07_03150 in the Aceh Museum Collection, states that the ascendancy of the al-Kūrānī family ended earlier with Muḥammad Saʻīd, who initiated Shaykh al-Nājīdi, who initiated Yūsuf b. Ismāʻīl al-Fadrīyā Glumpang Minyeuk, who initiated Haji Suryānī b. Ismaʻīl al-Jāwī Fāṭimī, who initiated Muḥammad Rābidin al-Jāwī Juwani b. Muṣaynif, who initiated Leubee Aloeh, Kayee Kunyet.

Muḥammad Asʻad initiated some Acehnese students who came to Haramayn, presumably in the early and mid-nineteenth century. Among them was Zayn al-ʻĀbidīn who, in turn, initiated ʻAbd al-Ḥamīd ʻAdanī, who initiated Muḥammad ʻAlī Rabawī.[1] Fakhriati also named another Acehnese student of Muḥammad Asʻad, i.e., Yakub Pante Geulima, who initiated Ismail Pante Geulima, who initiated ʻAbd al-Raḥmān Uleegle, who initiated ʻAbd al-Majīd Uleegle, who initiated Teungku Muḥammad ʻAlī Irshād Teupin Raya (ca. the early twentieth century), the author of *Afḍal al-dhikr* (Fakhriati 2008:167-168).

One of Muḥammad Asʻad's most important students was Teungku ʻAbd al-Wahhāb, who was better known as Teungku Chik Tanoh Abee (d. 1894) and was the sixth generation of the founders of Zawiyah Tanoh Abee.[2] He probably met Muḥammad Asʻad while studying in Ḥaramayn in his early years. He was one of the most important figures in the development of Zawiyah Tanoh Abee as the center of traditional Islamic institution education in Aceh, which includes thousands of Islamic manuscripts in Arabic, Malay, and Acehnese (Özay 2011a:72-73). He was the only one of Muhammad Saleh al-Baghdadi's (d. 1855) fourteen children to have great interest in Islamic scholarship and was actively engaged in the political affairs of Aceh

[1] MS 203/TS/15/YPAH/2005 in the Yayasan Ali Hasjmy Collection.

[2] MS 07_00757 in the Aceh Museum Collection.

against Dutch colonialism. Moreover, he played a significant role as a prestigious Uleebalang 'Kali Rabbonjale' in Mukim 22 during the reigns of Sultan Ibrahim Mansur Shah (1836-1870) and Sultan Mahmud Shah (1870-1874) (Yeoh 1994:222).[1]

The chain of Teungku 'Abd al-Wahhāb found in other silsilahs,[2] however, is confusing, since he is said to have received his authority from "another" Muḥammad As'ad Ṭāhir, who, in turn, was initiated by "another" Muḥammad Sa'īd Ṭāhir, who was initiated by a Medinan scholar Manṣūr Budayrī, who was initiated by Muḥammad As'ad Ṭāhir al-Kūrānī, who was initiated by Muḥammad Sa'īd Ṭāhir al-Kūrānī, who was initiated by Ibrāhīm Ṭāhir al-Kūrānī. This assumes that Teungku Abdul Wahhab never studied with Muḥammad As'ad, the great-great grandson of al-Kūrānī, but from another person with the same name.[3]

Unless further data is obtained, I suggest that the repetition of the names Muḥammad As'ad Ṭāhir and Muḥammad Sa'īd Ṭāhir after Manṣūr Budayrī in MSS 16767 and 212/674/ZD-6/TA/2006 is a scribal error by the copyist of the manuscripts. This means that Manṣūr Budayrī received his *ijāzah* from Ibrāhīm Ṭāhir, the grandson of al-Kūrānī, and not from Muḥammad As'ad Ṭāhir. This assumption is supported by Fakhriati's study, which provided a silsilah of Teungku di Pulo found in his Sufi work, *Ṭariqah Shaṭṭārīyah*. It is said that Teungku di Pulo, alias Teungku Zakaria, received his *ijāzah* from Hamzah Ie Luebue, who was initiated by Muhammad Tahir Tiro, who was initiated by Teungku 'Abd al-Wahhāb, who was initiated by Muḥammad As'ad Ṭāhir, who was initiated by Muḥammad Sa'īd Ṭāhir, who was initiated by Manṣūr Budayrī, who was initiated by Ibrāhīm Ṭāhir, and so on (Fakhriati 2008:165). Apart from as mentioned in his ambiguous biography, in the context of Shaṭṭārīyah genealogy in Aceh, Manṣūr Budayrī appears to have played an important role, as he was also mentioned in another silsilah of MS 51A/TS/19/YPAH/2005 in the Yayasan Ali Hasjmy Collection as a

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[1] Regarding the "golden age" of Zawiyah Tanoh Abee as the greatest holder of Islamic manuscripts; see also Abu Bakar and Abdullah 1992.

[2] Two of the silsilahs are found in MS 16767 in the British Library Collection, while the other one is in MS 212/674/ZD-6/TA/2006 in the Yayasan Ali Hasjmy Collection. I believe that these silsilahs, especially the first two, originated from the same tradition in Tanoh Abee. Therefore, the number of silsilahs is not related to their validity.

[3] See also the silsilah provided by Kraus 1997:180-181.

teacher of Muhammad Marhaban b. Haji Muhammad Saleh, who initiated Sayf al-Qamar.

In the present context, it is notable that Teungku ʻAbd al-Wahhāb Tanoh Abee had a spiritual network with the al-Kūrānī family in Medina, presumably through al-Kūrānī's great-great grandson, Muḥammad Asʻad b. Muḥammad Saʻīd. In addition, the manuscripts confirm that Teungku ʻAbd al-Wahhāb initiated several students. Among them was a female Sufi named Ḥamīdah b. Sulaymān [1] as well as Muḥammad Abū ʻAbd al-Muṭallib[2] and Shaykh ʻAlī.[3] The last of these, in turn, initiated another student, Hasan, as mentioned in the same silsilah.

Besides Teungku ʻAbd al-Wahhāb, Muḥammad Asʻad Ṭāhir al-Kūrānī had several other students from Aceh. Among them was Muḥammad ʻAlī, whose chain can be traced back through the silsilah of his student Muḥammad Khaṭīb Langgien or Teungku Khaṭīb Langgien.[4] Based on her study of MS 2621 from the Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia (PNM) Collection, Fakhriati asserts that Muḥammad ʻAlī was the author of two Sufi works: *Sirāj al-Dīn* and *Raʼs al-Dīn*, Teungku Muḥammad ʻAlī Pulo (d. ca. after 1870), an Acehnese student from Pulo Sueb, Lueng Putu, Pidie (Fakhriati 2008:112-114). Moreover, Shagir Abdullah suggested that Muḥammad ʻAlī met Dāwūd al-Faṭṭānī while studying with Muḥammad Asʻad Ṭāhir al-Kūrānī in Medina (Abdullah 1990:32-39).

As for Teungku Khatib Langgien, he was one of the most prolific Acehnese scholars in the nineteenth century, who probably lived until ca. 1869, when his work *Dawāʼ al-qulūb min al-ghuyūb* was composed. A colophon of this work reads as follows: '*…tamatlah fakir yang menyusunkan kitab akan ini pada hari Khamis pada bulan Syawal dua puluh dua hari bulannya dan pada Nabi sm seribu dua ratus lapan lima tahun pada tahun jim namanya, amin…*'[5] (the poor author has completed this work on Thursday 22 Shawwal 1285 of Hijri Calendar, Year Jim, amin).

In addition to Aceh, the al-Kūrānī family's influence through the Shaṭṭārīyah Sufi order can also be traced to the Lanao area of Mindanao, at least in

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1 MS 16767, f. 100v in the British Library Collection.

2 MS 212/674/ZD-6/TA/2006 from the Zawiyah Tanoh Abee Collection.

3 MS 07_00757, f. 59r in the Aceh Museum Collection.

4 MS 07_00812, f. 59r in the Aceh Museum Collection.

5 MS 07_00812, f. 112v.

the eighteenth century, as indicated by MS B7 MS1 from the Al-Imam As-Sadiq (A.S.) Library of Husayniyyah Karbala in Marawi City in southern Philippines. This is the only source thus far to establish the intellectual connection between this area and Haramayn. The manuscript mentions Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bansayānī (who probably lived in the latter half of the eighteenth century) as a Shaṭṭārīyah student, who received his *ijāzah* from Haji Muhammad Tahir, who, in turn, was initiated by Muḥammad Ṭāhir b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī. Haji Muhammad Tahir's identity is elucidated by a Naqshbandīyah silsilah of al-Bansayānī himself, found in the same manuscript, which indicates that he received his Naqshbandīyah's *ijāzah* from *al-ḥājj* Muhammad Tahir *fī balad al-Marantawī*, who was initiated by Shaykh Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Madanī.[1]

Accordingly, we may conclude that the Shaṭṭārīyah connection between the Lanao area of Mindanao and Haramayn was established in the first half of the eighteenth century through Muhammad Tahir al-Marantawi, a Maranao scholar from the Marantao area, who probably met, studied with, and received his *ijāzah* in both the Shaṭṭārīyah and Naqshbandīyah orders from Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Madanī b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī in Medina. He then initiated Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bansayānī, who was mentioned in the silsilah as *Amīr al-Qāḍī ilá balad al-Bansayānī*.[2]

Moreover, we may assume that the spread of the Shaṭṭārīyah in the Lanao area of Mindanao at the time included not only Bansayan and Marantao but also other nearby areas such as Taraka and Balabagan, since al-Bansayānī mentioned that he received his Shaṭṭārīyah *ijāzah* from Haji 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qārī al-Tarakai and Haji 'Abd al-Qahhār al-Balabagānī.[3] The titles of these scholars generally refer to Taraka and Balabagan, their places of origin, which currently belong to autonomous regions in Muslim Mindanao, such as Bansayan and Marantao.

Another manuscript containing the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah is found in Marawi City – MS2 from the Shiek Ahmad Basher Memorial Research Library in Matampay Collection. Yet, unlike MS B7 MS1, the silsilah does not include any Maranao students; it concludes by mentioning Muḥammad As'ad b. Muḥammad Sa'īd Ṭāhir al-Madanī.

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1 B7 MS1, f. 27v.

2 B7 MS1, f. 25v.

3 B7 MS1, f. 25v.

3. Ḥasan al-'Ajamī's line

Besides the 'Abd al-Ra'ūf and al-Kūrānī lines, our manuscripts provide information regarding the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah in Aceh, Java, and Mindanao through Mawlānā Ḥasan al-'Ajamī (d. 1701) and Shaykh Ṣāliḥ Khaṭīb in Medina. Both these students received their Shaṭṭārīyah *ijāzah* from Aḥmad al-Qushāshī.

Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad 'Umar al-'Ajamī or Ḥasan al-'Ajamī was one of the most important Medina scholars at the turn of the seventeenth century. He was a student and friend of Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, who studied with several prominent teachers including 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Shaybanī al-Zābidī (d. 1661), Zayn al-'Ābidīn al-Ṭabarī (1594-1667), and 'Īsá al-Maghribī (1611-1669). Similar to al-Kūrānī, al-'Ajamī taught Jawi students such as Yūsuf al-Makassārī from South Sulawesi (Azra 2004:23 and 90).

As Azra notes, Ḥasan al-'Ajamī played an important role in connecting the scholarly networks in the seventeenth century with those in the eighteenth century, particularly through *ḥadīth* studies and *ṭarīqah* silsilahs.[1] This statement is supported by the silsilah in MS 07_00104 from the Aceh Museum Collection, which mentions that Ḥasan al-'Ajamī initiated Muḥammad Ṭāhir, the son of Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, who, in turn, initiated Ibrāhīm Ṭāhir, who initiated the anonymous "father" of Haji Maḥmūd b. Haji 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd Allāh from J-r-b-w-n,[2] who initiated Yusuf anak Lebai Padang Shah Marbu.

4. Ṣāliḥ Khaṭīb's lines

With regard to Shaykh Ṣāliḥ Khaṭīb, our manuscripts establish only that he was a Medinan scholar who initiated an Indian student, 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Abd al-Ghānī al-Hindī, into the Shaṭṭārīyah order, who, in turn, initiated the Meccan scholar Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī, the son of 'Alī al-Ṭabarī (d. 1660), one of the most important historians in Mecca in the seventeenth century.

In the context of the Shaṭṭārīyah genealogy in Cirebon and Mindanao, Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī was certainly an important figure, since he was mentioned as the teacher of a Bantenese scholar in the nineteenth century, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Qahhār Banten. While initiating Kanjeng Ratu Ibu, the

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[1] For a more detailed discussion regarding his networks, see Azra 2004:26–27.

[2] The text states the following: *fakir al-Ḥājj Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥājj 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd Allāh, J-r-b-w-n nama negrinya*.

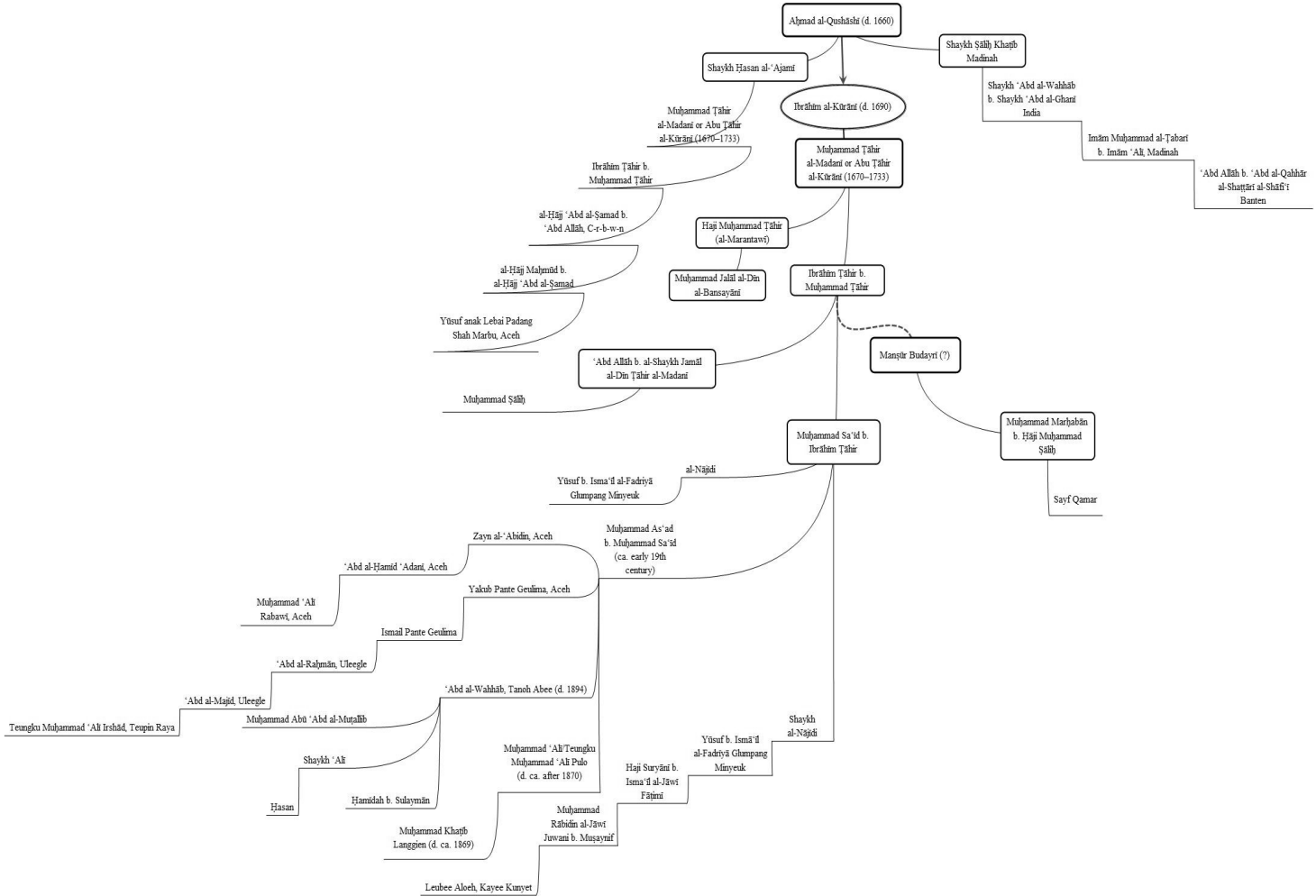
mother of Kanjeng Sultan Carbon (Cirebon), into the Shaṭṭārīyah and Naqshbandīyah Sufi orders,[1] ʻAbd Allāh b. ʻAbd al-Qahhār was also considered to have initiated a Mindanao student, Khaṭīb Dāwūd b. Shams al-Dīn, who initiated Encik Sirin Awal b. Sirin ʻAbd al-Ghānī.[2]

The existence of Malay and Javanese versions of ʻAbd Allāh b. ʻAbd al-Qahhār Banten's Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah in the Lanao area of Mindanao as well as Cirebon leads to my hypothesis regarding the Shaṭṭārīyah connection between these areas. Regardless of the different languages and students of ʻAbd al-Qahhār in Mindanao and Cirebon, the Malay silsilah text in MS B1-MS2 is similar to that in the Javanese version in MS 211_EPJ005.

Next page:
Picture 3. Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah: al-Kūrānī, al-ʻAjamī, and Ṣāliḥ Khaṭīb's lines.

[1] MS B1-MS2, ff. 2v-4r from the Al-Imam As-Sadiq (A.S.) Library Collection.

[2] MS 211_EPJ005, ff. 1v-2v from the Elang Panji Collection.


Aḥmad al-Qushāshī (d. 1660)
Shaykh Ḥasan al-ʿAjamī
Shaykh Ṣāliḥ Khaṭīb Madinah
Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d. 1690)
Shaykh ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ghanī India
Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Madanī or Abu Ṭāhir al-Kūrānī (1670–1733)
Imām Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī b. Imām ʿAlī, Madinah
Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Madanī or Abu Ṭāhir al-Kūrānī (1670–1733)
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār al-Shaṭṭārī al-Shāfiʿī Banten
Ibrāhim Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad Ṭāhir
al-Ḥājj ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAbd Allāh, C-r-b-w-n
Ḥaji Muḥammad Ṭāhir (al-Maraṇtawī)
al-Ḥājj Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥājj ʿAbd al-Ṣamad
Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bansayānī
Ibrāhīm Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad Ṭāhir
Yūsuf anak Lebai Padang Shah Marbu, Aceh
Manṣūr Budayrī (?)
ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Ṭāhir al-Madanī
Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ
Muḥammad Sa'id b. Ibrāhīm Ṭāhir
Muḥammad Marḥabān b. Ḥājī Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ
al-Nājidī
Yūsuf b. Isma'il al-Fadriyā Glumpang Mínyeuk
Sayf Qamar
Muḥammad As'ad b. Muḥammad Sa'id (ca. early 19th century)
Zayn al-ʿAbidīn, Aceh
ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ʿAdanī, Aceh
Muḥammad ʿAlī Rabawī, Aceh
Yakub Pante Geulima, Aceh
Ismail Pante Geulima
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Uleegle
ʿAbd al-Majīd, Uleegle
ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Tanoh Abee (d. 1894)
Muḥammad Abū ʿAbd al-Muṭallib
Teungku Muḥammad ʿAlī Irshād, Teupin Raya
Shaykh ʿAlī
Muḥammad ʿAlī/Teungku Muḥammad ʿAlī Pulo (d. ca. after 1870)
Ḥasan
Ḥamīdah b. Sulaymān
Shaykh al-Nājidī
Yūsuf b. Ismāʿīl al-Fadriyā Glumpang Mínyeuk
Ḥaji Suryānī b. Isma'il al-Jāwī Fāṭimī
Muḥammad Khaṭīb Langgien (d. ca. 1869)
Muḥammad Rābidīn al-Jāwī Juwani b. Muṣaynif
Leubee Aloeh, Kayee Kunyet

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.D.	Anno Domini
A.H.	Anno Hegirae
A.S.	Al-Imam As-Sadiq Library of Husayniyyah Karbala
C-DATS	Centre for Documentation & Area-Transcultural Studies
Cod. Or.	Codex Orientalis
EAP	Endangered Archives Programme
ff.	folios
IAIN	Institut Agama Islam Negeri
ILCAA	Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa
ISIF	Institut Studi Islam Fahmina
Jav	Javanese
KCR	Kraton Kacirebonan Collection
Manassa	Masyarakat Pernaskahan Nusantara
MIPES	Manuscripts of Indonesian Pesantren Project
MS	manuscript
MSS	manuscripts
PKPM	Pusat Kajian Pendidikan dan Masyarakat
PNM	Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia
PPIM	Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat
PSM	Pesantren Sabilil Muttaqin
TUFS	Tokyo University of Foreign Studies
UIN	Universitas Islam Negeri
YPAH	Yayasan Pendidikan Ali Hasjmy

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JAVANESE STUDIES:
Contributions to the Study of Javanese Literature, Culture and History 4

ISBN: 978-4-86337-225-2

SHAṬṬĀRĪYAH SILSILAH
in Aceh, Java, and the Lanao area of Mindanao
Oman Fathurahman

This book provides primary sources for the Shaṭṭārīyah silsilah in Southeast Asiaas developed in Aceh, Java, and Mindanao. It examines the networks of the Order between the 17th and 19th centuries, arguably the most important formative periods of Islamic history in these regions.

In this philological study, the author scrutinizes thirteen digitized Islamic manuscripts in order to show the complexity of the Shaṭṭārīyah Order and its great influence over Javanese Muslim elites, including three female Sufis of Javanese aristocratic background, namely Ratu Raja Fatimah and Nyimas Ayu Alimah of the Cirebon Palace, and last but not least Kanjeng Ratu Kadipaten, the influential wife of Pangeran Mangkubumi of the Yogyakarta Palace, who played a prominent role in shaping the spirituality of a Javanese mystic and leader of the 'holy war' against European colonialism, Prince Dipanagara.

Contrary to previous studies, this book emphasizes the role of local networks of "commoners" in the Shaṭṭārīyah in spreading it into a wider context. Some of these had to live in exile during the period of Dutch colonialism, such as Kyai Hasan Maolani, the most influential local ulama from Lengkong, Kuningan, West Java, who was banished to Manado, North Sulawesi.

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